DELBERT METZGER: WHY I AM NO LONGER A JUDGE

THE Nation

July 18, 1953
20¢

Ira Wolfert and Charles A. Wright

Strange Case of Alger Hiss

EVERY YEAR SINCE 1865
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
JUL 17 19[illegible]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Around the U.S.A.

Industrial Revolution by Vacuum

Pomona, Cal.

AT PRESENT an industrial revolution is going on in Southern California's mammoth backyard vegetable garden, the crop-rich Imperial Valley. It has been brought about by a new process for getting lettuce and perhaps other vegetables to the table at considerably reduced cost. And it has resulted in the displacement of thousands of skilled, well-paid, union-represented American citizens by unskilled, low-paid imported Mexican workers.

The new process begins in the field and is continued in the packing-house, where a vacuum cooling system is being substituted for the use of ice. The biggest argument for the vacuum process is that it is cheaper than the standard pack. Growers admit, however, that the saving thus far has not been passed on to the consumer.

The lettuce is now being cut, trimmed, and packed in cartons in the field by unskilled, 70-cents-an-hour hands, most of them Mexican nationals brought here under a labor contract between the U. S. and Mexican governments. The cartons are then loaded on trucks and hauled to the Vacuum Cooling Company plant in El Centro. There an oversized mechanical monster known as a fork lift removes the entire load in a single operation and trundles it into a block-long shed fitted with four vacuum-cooling tubes, each eight feet in diameter and sixty feet long. Standard-size fork lifts transfer the cartons to small flat-cars which are pulled in trains into one of the boiler-like tubes. Thermostats are inserted into the lettuce, the tube lids are hydraulically slid into position, and the powerful vacuum pumps are turned on. In eighteen to twenty minutes a single tube cools two-thirds of a box-car load of lettuce from field temperature—50° to 80°—to the near-freezing mark of 35°. The chilled lettuce is then put in refrigerated railroad cars for shipment to Midwest and Eastern markets.

• Though the vacuum process was first attempted commercially in 1949, it did not compete seriously with the ice-pack system until this year. Prices on the Eastern lettuce market during 1953 have been abnormally low; the vacuum process is cheaper and therefore growers have had to use it to avoid financial disaster. For example, in January of this year crates containing forty-eight heads of lettuce were sold in New York for two dollars. The cost to the grower of raising, harvesting, and shipping lettuce by the ice-pack method is about $2.50 a crate. By the vacuum method it is about $2, which at least enables him to break even. During the worst of the price slump the vacuum company was running at capacity and handling more than 50 per cent of the lettuce dispatched from Imperial Valley to Eastern markets. Before that it handled about 25 per cent.

Though the market price has since climbed to $3.50 a crate, officers of the company are confident that the switch to the carton-and-vacuum process will continue. In 1949 it had one small pilot plant in Salinas; today it has large plants in Salinas, Watsonville, El Centro, Santa Maria, Blythe, Holtville, and in Phoenix and Yuma, Arizona.

Meanwhile, skilled packing-shed workers are jobless or subsisting on part-time pay checks. They say their replacement by cheap imported labor is part of a definite program aimed at destroying them and their unions. The situation is so delicate that it could develop into a crisis between the United States and Mexico. Ben Perry, business agent of Local 78 of the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers (C. I. O.) in El Centro, says: "Our union is all in favor of progress, and we're not objecting in any way to the use of the vacuum refrigeration method. As a matter of fact, the vacuum workers belong to our local; so we're definitely in favor of that. But we're not going to stand for this cheap slave-labor system—using 70-cents-an-hour Mexican workers to take the jobs away from our own citizens, men and women who depend on packing work to support their families."

Normally, Perry says, 3,200 trimmers and packers are employed in Imperial Valley lettuce-packing sheds at the peak of the season. This year, however, some sheds have not opened and others have operated only for a few days. Perry claims his members do not blame the Mexicans, who also need work. They blame the growers for assigning the Mexicans to skilled and semi-skilled work they are forbidden to do under their work contracts as approved by the two governments.

• The agreement under which members of the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association employ 7,000 Mexican nationals states that "in no event will they be employed on work other than as agricultural workers . . . they will not be employed on any type of skilled work or semi-skilled work." The union contends that both the trimming and the packing of lettuce require training and skill and are really factory-type operations. An efficient man packs forty crates of lettuce, almost two thousand heads an hour. Mexicans average six hundred heads an hour or less. The difference in speed is certainly an indication of the skill required. Moreover, packers and trimmers are covered by federal social security, just as are factory workers, while agricultural workers are not covered. By transferring the factories to the fields, the growers dodge social-security payments.

The El Centro and Brawley offices of the California Employment Service are receiving 500 applications a week for unemployment insurance, 400 of which are from trimmers and packers. While this is only 100 more than last year, Thomas M. Finney, manager of the two offices, points out that part-time workers are not on the unemployment rolls. People who have lived in Imperial Valley for years say they have not seen the situation so bad since 1930.

What is most needed at present is an investigation which would reveal that the labor contract between the Mexican government and the United States is being violated.

AUBREY B. HAINES

[*Aubrey B. Haines is a free-lance writer in California.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 177, Number 3
New York, Saturday, July 18, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Opportunity for What?

When Premier Malenkov announced the purging of Lavrenti Beria, Interior Minister and Deputy Premier, he threw a heavy monkey wrench into the Washington deliberations of the three men chiefly responsible for Western foreign policy. Secretary Dulles talked glibly about the "great opportunity" presented by the "new convulsion" sweeping Russia. But since nobody knows, as this week begins, what the downfall of Beria means or portends, the Foreign Ministers are carrying on their talks with a huge question mark standing at the end of every avenue of discussion. Does the disappearance of one of Russia's ruling *troika*—previously regarded by many as its most powerful member—mark the start of the disintegration of the regime? Or will the dictatorship weather this as it has previous purges? Will Moscow's softer policy be reversed or go on? Meager reports from Washington give no hint that the conferees, hedged in by these uncertainties, are prepared to deal positively with the major issues before them.

Yet it is a fact that a new opportunity exists—an opportunity to agree on a course of action so firmly grounded in solid Western interests and a will to peace that it will remain valid whatever happens next in the Soviet world. This is the time, we believe, to abandon the practice of basing our own policy on guesses and hopes and fears about Moscow's shifting policy. If ever we are to assume responsibility for ending the cold war, the brutal events in the Kremlin would seem to offer the "great opportunity" to do so.

A Time for Talks

Regardless of Beria's downfall, the factors which dictated Moscow's "soft" policy toward the West still exist, as Alexander Werth suggests on page 44. Among those factors is the resistance in the satellite states, which can perhaps be repressed but cannot be converted by repression into the cooperative effort required to support Russia's economic needs and buttress its frontier. They include a growing need for trade and a reduced burden of armament so that the Russian people can be given some of the promised economic benefits that have been sacrificed to the needs of the cold war. They include, perhaps above all, the desire of Moscow to prevent the rearming of Germany as part of the Western defense system. An end to the cold war would also, Kremlin orthodoxy maintains, produce economic collapse in the West, increasing the attraction of communism among the masses.

Beria may go, his henchmen may be purged, but these factors remain and will probably continue to direct Soviet foreign policy. With Moscow's attention fixed on the internal struggle, there may be no immediate move for talks on Germany; the Soviet chiefs can afford to wait and let the strong tide toward unity in Germany and against German rearmament in France continue by its own momentum.

In this moment of pause the statesmen of the West should make a positive move. Sending food to Eastern Germany is just a propaganda gesture—so patently, that it has been robbed of any humanitarian aspect. What is needed is a direct offer of German unification on the basis of free elections, and an early conference to settle this and other outstanding issues between West and East. The United States has been using every possible device of stalling and diplomatic pressure to put off this question, with the result that Washington is today regarded as the enemy of German unity as well as the champion of German rearmament. The chance has come to take this particular play from the Russians.

Invite Tito to Washington

In any attempt to formulate a positive policy, Mr. Dulles and the other Western leaders would do well to give careful attention to Marshal Tito's remarkably frank interview with a representative of the United Press. "I do not believe," the Marshal said, "the Soviet Union will ever renounce its basic aims. But I do believe that right now they are in a phase of great accumulation of pressures resulting from the weaknesses and mistakes of the past, and that the leaders of the Soviet Union must make great changes. These are real and not just tactical maneuvering, and they are not yet ended. But further development depends not only on the Soviet Union but also on what is done by the Western countries. I would advise them to take advantage of this phase to settle important international problems such as Germany and Austria. But they should not ask any 100 per cent change

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 41
Cracks in the Wall 43
The Beria Case *by Alexander Werth* 44

ARTICLES

The Socialist Malaise
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 45
Strange Hiss Case:
A Book Stirs Memories
by Ira Wolfert 46
Dollar Dilemma:
Europe's Trade Stagnates
by Fritz Sternberg 48
Reluctant Allies:
Danes Fear McCarthyism
by Erling Bjol 50
Seascape *A Poem by Edwin Rolfe* 51
No Longer a Judge:
An Ex-Jurist Tells Why
by Delbert Metzger 52
Censorship Preview *by Jeanne Riha* 53

BOOKS

Turning Point of Our Time
by Charles Alan Wright 54
New Books in Brief 56

MUSIC

Casals and the Prades Festival
by Joseph Fontbernat 57

RECORD NOTES *by Robert E. Garis* 59

LETTERS 59

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 524
by Frank W. Lewis 60

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Industrial Revolution by Vacuum
by Aubrey B. Haines opposite 41

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman *Theater*
B. H. Haggin *Music*
Gladys Whiteside *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

within the Soviet Union or ask the Russians to give up all their basic aims."

This sound and timely advice prompts us to suggest that President Eisenhower invite Marshal Tito to Washington for personal talks. The Marshal has an expert and intimate knowledge of Soviet diplomacy; he has first-rate sources of information; he knows Eastern Europe; and he knows the people as well as the policies of the Soviet Union. Such a visit, moreover, could hardly fail to strengthen American-Yugoslav relations. We convey a somewhat better impression at short than at long range and Tito should see us close up, in our shirt sleeves. It might quiet our nerves, too, to discover that the Marshal, who is a Communist of his own sort, has neither horns nor whiskers. Here is a man who could tell us a lot of things we need to hear.

UNESCO'S Compromise

Our Foreign Editor reports from Paris: A new item in the catalogue of discontent with current American attitudes was the opposition registered at Paris to the choice of Dr. Luther Evans, former Librarian of Congress, as new Director-General of UNESCO. He was opposed not as a person, since his reputation as a scholar and a liberal is generally acknowledged, but frankly as an American —a representative of policies regarded with fear and dislike. Since the Soviet bloc is not part of UNESCO, the feeling reflected no sinister Kremlin line.

The opposition was sharp enough to have served as a warning to the United States delegation. Obviously it did not. Twenty-four hours after Dr. Evans's election, the Americans introduced a resolution designed to coordinate the personnel policy of UNESCO with that of the United Nations secretariat. In other words, it would have made it possible to establish in UNESCO the witch-hunting procedures and controls which had been imposed on the headquarters staff in New York by the McCarthy committee and the Department of Justice—against which *The Nation* steadfastly fought.

In Paris the protest was general and strongly expressed. UNESCO has its own constitution and staff regulations. In the debate M. André Marie, French Minister of Education, used all his finesse and power of persuasion to convince the Americans that their demand would create serious misunderstanding. The Swiss delegate, M. Piaget, fought hard to prevent the hand of McCarthy from reaching across 3,000 miles into UNESCO's Paris headquarters. Finally a compromise resolution was adopted requesting the Director-General to submit to the eighth session of the general conference a report on the whole subject of loyalty. Time, at least, was gained, since the next conference is scheduled for 1954 in Montevideo. Delegates in the corridors were heard to remark, "Maybe in the meantime the Americans will cool down."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cracks in the Wall

THREE storm clouds on last week's horizon spell serious trouble for Senator McCarthy and his backers.

On the by-now-celebrated book-burning episode, the Senator from Wisconsin has suffered a severe setback. To be sure, not much forward yardage has been gained; the Administration has merely reaffirmed a major policy directive of February 3. But the pained cries that Senators McCarthy and Mundt have been emitting are the best proof that significant ground has been regained in the battle against censorship. "Ridiculous" says Senator McCarthy of the new directive; "utterly silly" echoes Senator Mundt. The February 3 directive hardly deserves to rank with John Milton's "Areopagetica" but it does affirm, in clear and vigorous language, that the suitability of books for use in overseas libraries should be determined by their contents and not by the political views or behavior of their authors. Mild as this may sound it is rank heresy to Senator McCarthy who is strongly addicted to the *ad hominem* fallacy; he has forgotten that even the Catholic Index bans the book, not the author.

COMING in the wake of Howard Rushmore's brief sojourn in Washington as an official inquisitor, the removal of Dr. J. B. Matthews as consultant extraordinary to the McCarthy committee represents a resounding defeat for the high priests of the anti-Communist movement. For years Matthews has been the master-mind of the Hearst newspapers' anti-Communist intelligence. When Rushmore, an underling in the same service, was dropped by McCarthy after scarcely two weeks' service, J. B. was rushed to Washington by the anti-Communist professionals anxious as always to maintain the closest possible liaison with the inquisitorial committees. But for all his mastery of Arabic, Dutch, Malay, Sudanese, Persian, Sanscrit, "and many other languages," J. B.'s tenure of office in Washington was even briefer than Rushmore's. If Matthews had been hired especially to set up a situation which would enable the President to blaze away at McCarthy as at a duck in a midway gallery, he could hardly have come up with anything better than the sentence: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." For once the President lost no time in pulling the trigger while the target was still in view. And there can be no doubt that he hit the target this time: "Generalized and irresponsible attacks," he said, "that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America. Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency."

In the wake of the President's statement, McCarthy quickly accepted Matthews's resignation only to have Democratic Senators McClellan, Symington, and Jackson resign in protest after the full subcommittee, by a vote of four to three, had given the chairman sole power to engage or discharge staff members. Well timed, the resignations will tend to solidify the opposition to McCarthy in the Senate. As Senator McClellan's walkout indicates, the Dixiecrats are beginning to be annoyed with McCarthy. Senators Maybank and Robertson were offended by his behavior during the quizzing of Dr. Conant, and Senator Byrd lost little time in backing up his colleagues by demanding that Matthews name names or "stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow-Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain."

Vastly irritated by these setbacks, McCarthy has now trained his guns on targets close to the President: Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Dr. Robert L. Johnson, retiring Director of the International Information Administration of the State Department, who is scheduled to appear before the McCarthy committee to answer for the reaffirmed policy directive on the overseas library program. The attack on Allen Dulles is tantamount to an open declaration of war. John Foster Dulles was, of course, one of the sponsors of Alger Hiss for the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment. The Hiss case, moreover, is central to McCarthy's latest razzle-dazzle. For he wants to question William P. Bundy, a son-in-law of Dean Acheson, now a C. I. A. official, because he contributed $400 to the Hiss defense fund. Thus the Hiss case, which so persistently bedeviled the Truman Administration, has now come home to roost in a White House occupied by a Republican President. C. I. A.'s legislative liaison officer has told Senator McCarthy that the policy of the agency is to instruct its personnel not to appear before Congressional committees. Vice-President Nixon, the Administration's ambassador to the Know-Nothing wing of the Republican Party, will have a hard time to negotiate a cease-fire between the Administration and Senator McCarthy on this acrimonious issue of long standing.

THE CAMERA-EYE now focuses on Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's appearance before the Velde committee in Washington on July 21. Events of the past week have invested the hearing with extraordinary importance. Under any circumstances, Bishop Oxnam would be a formidable adversary, but he will speak in Washington with the virtually unanimous backing and support of the Protestant church movement, thanks to Mr. Matthews. Here is one witness whom the committee will have to treat with a measure of respect and whose testimony will be fully carried by the nation's press, radio, and TV services. His appearance should strengthen the hand of the Administration if it is now determined, as seems likely, to force a real showdown with McCarthy. It would be difficult to imagine three better or sharper issues on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which to stand: book-burning, the freedom of the church from vicious smears and probes, and the Executive's responsibility for its own personnel. If the Administration will hold this line it will win. Whether it makes the attempt, however, may well depend on how many people will take the trouble to let the President know that the moment has come for him to give battle. McCarthy's great wall of fear and bigotry has not been breached but there are cracks in it.

The Beria Case

By Alexander Werth *Paris*

HOWEVER sensational Beria's liquidation may be, suggesting conflict of extreme gravity in the Kremlin, in itself it explains nothing. Only his trial and confession—unless, as is possible, the trial is *in camera*—will explain the role he has played since Stalin's death or, at least, the purpose of his liquidation.

Nevertheless, certain recent events are worth recalling. After the arrest of the doctors *Pravda* launched a scarcely veiled attack on Beria, charging his police with lack of vigilance. It looked as if Malenkov had cooked up the "doctors' plot" in order to get rid of Beria, a dangerous rival, while Stalin was a sick man whose death was foreseeable. If this theory is correct, then it seems that the plan failed largely because Stalin's death came earlier than was expected, and Beria and Malenkov found themselves together at the head of party and government—a façade of unity being essential at that moment.

Soon afterward there followed the spectacular domestic liberalization measures—the quashing of the case against the doctors with its implicit denunciation of intolerable police methods, the amnesty, and the promise to revise the criminal code, all seemingly emanating from Beria's department. Were the measures taken against the better judgment of Malenkov, who reputedly knew most about Stalin's own plans? Naturally it is foolish to sentimentalize Beria, who is a ruthless police officer. Nevertheless, he is a police officer who by reputation is a cunning politician with his ear glued to the ground. He understood public sentiment; in the closing years of Stalin's life he desired relaxation of the spartan legalistic austerity of the regime. He enjoyed wide support among party, police, and army, and no doubt was anxious to make himself even more popular through the liberalization measures which, thanks to his supporters, he was able to impose upon Malenkov. That Malenkov was unenthusiastic about the new program is perhaps suggested by the fact that the Soviet press consistently played down the amnesty decree and by his complete silence on the whole development.

Meanwhile did the mass of Soviet citizens give Beria credit for the alleviating measures, making him unduly popular—in the view of his rivals—throughout the country? Or was there a growing opposition to him from the "pure Stalinists"? If the latter, the opposition could hardly have challenged Beria on the domestic front, where the new liberalism was proving exceedingly popular. On the other hand, the opposition could and did become violently vocal when "liberalism" seemed to be leading to disastrous results abroad. The important concessions in East Germany starting a strike wave which was utilized by the League of German Youth and other trouble-makers in staging the Berlin riots, and the panic with which the Grotewohl government then began to "give up everything in handfuls" must have aroused the most violent reaction inside the Soviet Communist Party and brought to the surface its latent loyalty to the dead Stalin, who—according to the party—would never have allowed all this to happen.

A sensation must also have been caused by the sudden ousting of the faithful Rakosi of Hungary and his successor's denunciation of "excessive industrialization." *Pravda* played down the Hungarian affair as if it were a shameful episode. It is to be noted that the *Pravda* report on Hungary appeared *after* Beria's arrest, which seems to have taken place on June 27, following the Berlin riots.

AMERICA'S stand-offish attitude toward negotiations with Moscow during this period must have strengthened the feeling among Beria's opponents that much was being thrown away—Hungary, Germany, and so on—without anything to show in return. A sharp turn-around therefore seemed necessary—and a scapegoat. A scapegoat especially, since there must have been a desire all along to oust Beria sooner or later.

The way the accusations against Beria have been accompanied by protestations against the build-up of a single "personality" in Russia appear rather suspicious. Malenkov may actually be planning gradually to assume supreme power. Anyway, Beria's fall is likely to discredit the whole idea of "group leadership," which in any case has never worked in Russia, and will build up Malenkov as the faithful guardian of Stalin's heritage.

It does not follow from all this that the Russians will harden their attitude toward the West. On the contrary, the desire for a Korean truce and for a German settlement seems as strong as ever; only there is a revolt against the idea of throwing away trumps like Germany and Hungary before any big-power talks.

Will Beria's fall, considering the powerful support he had from party, police, and army, lead to a vast purge? Or will Malenkov be satisfied with the stampede of Beria's former associates to drop him, as the "unanimity" of the Central Committee's decisions seems to suggest?

As seen from Europe, the gravest danger to peace is not events in Russia but the false interpretation which might be given them by Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Socialist Malaise

Paris

THE French Socialist Congress, meeting this year at Asnières, a small Socialist town near Paris, had to take a position on two issues affecting the national and international policy of France—eventual Socialist participation in the government and how the party will vote when the National Assembly passes on the European Defense Community treaty. I have attended the lengthy debates of "a party in crisis in a nation in crisis," to quote Robert Lacoste, leader of the "opposition" within the party. While this definition was rejected by most of the congress orators, the party's position is certainly not an easy one.

Its principal difficulty arises from its composition. The Socialist Party in theory and by tradition is a party of workers; yet its working-class membership has been deserting more and more openly in the last few years, and the ranks have been filled by professional people—teachers, civil servants, intellectuals. It would be absurd to say there remain no Socialist workers. In the north of France, particularly, near the Belgian border, a flexible and empirical socialism has maintained its hold on the masses and successfully resisted all Communist assaults. But one set of figures is enough to prove the general case. Of the 105 Socialist deputies in the present National Assembly only 3 are workers; of the 96 Communist deputies 33 are workers.

As regards the first major issue before the congress—the question whether or not to participate in the government—the Socialist leaders are in a dilemma. If they join a People's Front with the Communists, they risk losing the semi-bourgeois semi-socialistic voters who today support the Socialist ticket. If on the other hand they take an anti-Communist line and collaborate in a government with parties unfriendly to the workers they risk losing their remaining working-class support.

The result of this situation is a pronounced Socialist malaise. Robert Lacoste, who was much criticized for having spoken of "a party in crisis," accurately diagnosed the symptoms—"the loss of labor, artisan, and peasant membership, while the Communist Party does not suffer such losses and the C. G. T. is registering gains in the factories." This is the actual truth; while the Communist C. G. T. is gaining every day in France, its rival labor organization, the Socialist Force Ouvrière, is constantly losing ground, although it is headed by Léon Jouhaux, a leader with fifty-five years of union activity to his credit. In spite of all the stories of slave labor in Russia and workers' rebellions in East Germany, the French workers remain faithful to the C. G. T. because it fights with more determination for higher pay and against the rising cost of living. "Insufficient wages, unemployment, disorder in production, and a housing crisis," to quote Lacoste again—this situation underlies the Socialist malaise.

WHAT CAN the Socialists do in the face of this dilemma? Of the well-known leaders only one, former Premier Paul Ramadier, courageously advocated seizing the first available opportunity to return to the government—not, of course, the government of M. Laniel but a less reactionary one. "The party must flee from isolation, for isolation is death," he said. The other leaders, especially Guy Mollet, secretary general of the party, prefer to wait and see whether the Socialists cannot regain their former strength by remaining in opposition, a stand which helped them in the municipal elections last April. Mollet places his hopes in a "Social Democratic Front," a formula originated in the congress as an alternative to the "People's Front" so as to obviate the necessity of an alliance with the Communists. But after two days of debate on domestic issues nobody seemed to know what the "Social Democratic Front" really meant.

The second part of the congress was dedicated to foreign policy. Jules Moch summed up his argument against the pro-German policy of certain powers by saying: "We refuse to join a crusade for the resuscitation of the Europe of Charlemagne, Napoleon, and Hitler. That Europe, which may be a Vatican Europe and will certainly be a Europe under German hegemony, is the worst of all possible Europes. It represents something quite different from the birth of a true brotherhood of peoples and bears in itself a serious risk of war."

I wish certain Americans who regard criticism of Washington's foreign policy as Communist propaganda could have witnessed the ovation which greeted Jules Moch's warning against a "European army" in which German participation would predominate. Since the Socialist Party has, after all, 105 deputies in the National Assembly, the other parliamentary groups, including those of the right center which two weeks ago voted M. Laniel into office, must have been impressed by the firmness with which Moch declared that "a ratification of the treaty now would be incompatible with a policy of peace." The former Socialist Defense Minister added: "Between a will to negotiate, though without excessive confidence, and an accelerated armament race with all the risks that implies, my choice is clear."

Over the congress hovered the imminent possibility of further Russian moves intended to create an international atmosphere in which a Big Four conference would prove irresistible. But the Socialist assembly was even more impressed by the developing opposition, in the most divergent political quarters, to a Washington policy which yesterday rejected negotiation because the Russians were too strong and today tries to justify its continued refusal on the ground that the Russians have become weak and so must be pressed harder than ever. The French Socialists realize that to identify themselves with such a policy would mean suicide as a party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

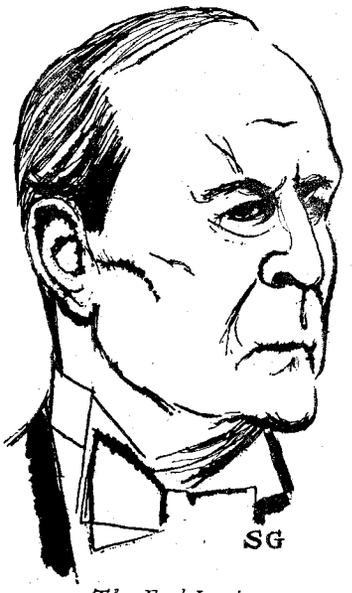
STRANGE HISS CASE

A Book Stirs Memories . . . *by Ira Wolfert*

NOW it is the Earl Jowitt, Britain's opposite number in standing although not in duties of our own Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who joins a most exclusive company—those disinterested bystanders who doubt that Hiss is guilty of the crime which aroused Senator McCarthy to get into the act, made Nixon Vice-President, and landed Hiss himself in jail. [See Charles Alan Wright's review of "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss," by the Earl Jowitt, on page 54.]

Until recently I felt alone in this company. But things seem to be happening. Some weeks ago I was lifting my face to my television set in the customary attitude of prayer, imploring it to let out something worth a nickel at least of the $300 it had cost me, and to my confusion it did. The author of "Heresy? Yes, Conspiracy? No"—Professor Sidney Hook—was meeting his critics, one of whom was Professor Broadus Mitchell. Mitchell, at least on my television set, has a Southern accent which cannot be called un-American by anybody who can be proved to have been alive after 1865. But suddenly he used it to announce, "I believe Alger Hiss is innocent."

It happened during a discussion over what to do about non-conformists in a day when nobody can define what he means by Communists but everybody is eager to hang them anyway, and I had taken to brooding despondently over the shambles so distinguished an intellectual as Hook was making of himself. At Mitchell's electrifying announcement I sat bolt upright in my chair and Hook recoiled in his. He looked as if he had been hit by a .45-caliber bullet, although it may only have been the coaxial cable. I can report that it took my television set a long time to regain Hook's



The Earl Jowitt

voice. He seemed to be gulping. Then a cry emerged from him, "That's all right, that's heresy." He appeared to be very gratified with himself for not believing that heretics should be burned.

Memory plays queer tricks sometimes. I was suddenly reminded of a conversation I had during the Little Steel strike of the mid-thirties with a steel baron, the undisputed ruler of his inland community. He had fomented a riot in order to quell it with the shots and shells and clubs of drunken deputy sheriffs and was explaining to me how by that process he had saved America from red ruin. He had to speak loudly to make himself heard above the cries coming through his office window of broken and hysterical men and women and the clanging of the ambulances carting them off to the hospital. After listening to him politely for a while, I said, as an experiment, "I think you stink." For a moment he lost his voice. Then his eyes turned red and he shouted at me, "That's all right, that's free speech." Then he puffed his chest out and looked around proudly. He was very gratified with himself for believing in free speech.

Lord Jowitt does not go so far as Mitchell did in the one simple declarative sentence. It is the duty of an English judge at the conclusion of a trial to charge the jury not only with the law involved but with a review of the evidence, and this is what the former Lord Chancellor and Attorney General of Great Britain has done in "The Strange Case of Alger Hiss." He reviews in tranquil, judicious tones—with the old-fashioned conservative's traditional and very militant suspicion of psychiatric testimony—the full transcript of the second Hiss trial, plus relevant evidence to be found in Whittaker Chambers's "Witness" and in the case of Julian Wadleigh, confessed transmitter of documents who had access to Hiss's unguarded office and its even less guarded waste-basket.

It is a fascinating way to write a book, and the author does not let his method down. He places each reader in the position of a juror, and I cannot imagine that any reasonable man who undergoes his treatment in the climate of common sense rather than in the climate of our times will fail to feel that the government did not prove its charges, not by direct evidence nor by circumstantial evidence nor by the combination of the two used by the prosecution.

IT IS CERTAIN that Hiss would never have been tried had there not been circumstantial evidence to corroborate Chambers's direct evidence. The circumstantial evidence has been considered overwhelming, but one who reads Lord Jowitt's book will not be overwhelmed by it. The point about circumstantial evidence is that it is more trustworthy than eyewitness testimony, but only when it indicates guilt in a manner so damning as to permit no other reasonable explanation.

The circumstantial evidence against Hiss consists chiefly of the famous pumpkin papers—four of them in Hiss's own handwriting, others of them transcribed from State Department documents on a portable typewriter owned

---

IRA WOLFERT, newspaperman and novelist, was the winner of a Pulitzer Prize as a war correspondent. Simon and Schuster is bringing out his latest novel, "Married Men," in October.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Hiss, and the remainder photographic copies of State Department documents. Lord Jowitt shows how the possession of these documents by Chambers can be explained reasonably without ruling out the presumption of Hiss's innocence.

It was part of Hiss's duties as assistant to Francis B. Sayre, head of the Trade Agreements Section, to read through the State Department's great daily mass of incoming dispatches and to report orally to his chief on all relevant material. Chambers swore that the four memoranda he had in Hiss's own handwriting "were about documents which had passed under his [Hiss's] eyes quickly, and which for some reason or other he was unable to bring out." Hiss swore that they were notes to himself, made for purposes of refreshing his recollection during his oral reports to his chief, and that afterward he threw them into his waste-basket.

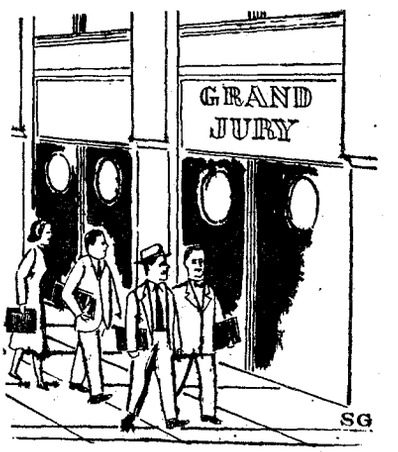
THE ONE CIRCUMSTANCE to support Chambers's explanation of how he came by them is the undisputed fact that he did have them. But it is also a fact that a comparison of the incoming dispatches and the notes Hiss made from them shows that they could have served the exact purpose Hiss maintains they did serve; they related exclusively to trade-agreements matters and made no mention of other material in the dispatches that would have been of far more significance to the Russians. Finally, the Communists did have at least one convert in the State Department—Wadleigh—who had been wandering about for years picking papers off desks and out of files and waste-baskets.

The photographic copies of the documents in Chambers's possession need not have come from Hiss. It would not be unreasonable to conceive of them as having come from the same source as the handwritten notes. The originals of the typewritten documents might also have been delivered in the same way, but in that case an explanation must be found, first, for how they came to be typewritten at all and, second, for how they came to be typed on a machine once owned by Hiss. (My own feeling is that the courts were justified in giving little credence to the defense theory that a replica of the Hiss typewriter was forged.) They are lengthy documents, and no explanation has ever been produced as to why Hiss or his wife should have gone to the tedious labor of typing a copy when a camera could have done the work just as satisfactorily in the twinkling of a shutter. But Lord Jowitt does cite a reasonable explanation of why Chambers himself might have done it. Chambers, an admittedly unstable man, hysterical at the time and in fear of his life over his break with the Communist Party, was seeking what he himself calls a "life-line." Documents implicating Hiss, whom he had met and for whom he had formed an attachment during Hiss's work on the Nye committee and his own work as a free-lance journalist, could have been thought useful for such a purpose by a mind as tortured as the one Chambers was afflicted with at the time. There is direct evidence by Chambers himself that he was acutely aware how readily documents can be traced back to their typewriters if not to their typists.

But whether or how Chambers came into possession of the Hiss typewriter long enough to type out these documents is a matter on which there is no evidence at all. However, I remember a case of a man charged with possession of policy slips. In the course of a raid by police on a policy bank in Harlem he was found seated at a table among others engaged in the work of sorting and adding the slips—a misdemeanor. His hands happened not to be in physical contact with the slips when the police saw him, and his explanation for his presence at the table was not exactly that he was there waiting for a street car, but he did say he was there only to visit a friend. The judge ruled that since there was no evidence to prove that he could not have been there for that purpose, he must be acquitted. Nor is there any evidence that Chambers could not somehow in some unexplained way have got hold of the Hiss typewriter. Neither, for that matter, is there any evidence that Hiss could not have been the traitor Chambers alleges he was. But it is upon Hiss that the presumption of innocence must legally rest.

ALL THE circumstantial evidence and the direct evidence, Lord Jowitt shows, can be picked apart in this fashion. Why then did the jury refuse to presume Hiss innocent? One who feels as I do that the jury was wrong must turn to his own knowledge of life in our day for an answer. In the early part of World War II, I was in the South Pacific as a newspaper correspondent, with green troops. Green troops are always much more jittery than veterans, and the jungle magnified fears the way a sewer magnifies sounds. The nights were the worst, and I remember being told by otherwise sane men who were convinced of the truth of what they were saying that the Japs came at night to stand over their foxholes and sprinkle dirt down their necks and let loose insects at them. I heard similar stories about the Germans from green troops in France, and, whether it was in the South Pacific or in Normandy, I found hysterical men determined to believe anything, no matter how incredible, as long as it justified their fear.

I left the newspaper business when the war ended and then returned to it briefly and covered the grand-jury proceedings which resulted in the indict-



ment of Hiss. I recall one witness, unsure of his rights, who stopped off on his way to the proceedings and picked a lawyer out of the classified telephone directory to help him. The lawyer was a conscientious young man and walked with his client over to the courthouse to continue his advice to the last minute.

At the courthouse the client disappeared into the grand-jury room and the lawyer was immediately surrounded by the press, among them an ex-Communist who has since become one of Senator McCarthy's aides, or perhaps it is Senator Jenner's. Anyway, he is now one of those Washington high-up hot shots, saving us all from red ruin. The lawyer said what was true, that he had no knowledge of the way in which his client was connected with Chambers or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hiss or whether his client was or was not a Communist. The press thought it might get a hint by asking whether the lawyer was acting for other Communists. The question was clumsily phrased, and the lawyer, with a friendly smile, asked, "Do you gentlemen want to inquire into my personal political beliefs?"

The ex-Communist got his answer in first. "Oh no, of course not," he sneered. "Then you'd quote the Fifth Amendment on us."

The lawyer was quite startled. "No, I wouldn't," he protested. "I'd answer if you'd ask me."

But very few heard him. The majority were chasing after the ex-Communist, who was walking away angrily. "Wha'd he say? What happened?" the reporters kept asking him, and finally he was able to control his anger sufficiently to reply: "Aah, he's one of those Fifth Amendment guys." The ex-Communist had convinced himself of the truth of his own charge, and the poor lawyer wandered forlornly from group to group protesting that the charge wasn't true. But he had a great deal that was material to gain from denying the charge and the ex-Communist had nothing at all that was material to gain from having made it, and therefore nobody believed the lawyer.

I felt the same apprehension over the ex-Communist as I had over the troops, as one has over a child weeping with terror of the dark. "I'll turn on the lights; see, there is no darkness," you tell the child. "The darkness is hiding. It'll come back when you turn off the lights," screams the child in even greater terror; and what do you say then?

LATER, when the grand jury was disbanded, there was confusion among the press. It seemed for a moment that no indictment had been returned. The *Daily Worker's* reporter was triumphant; the ex-Communist and other red-baiting reporters were in despair. "Sure there's an indictment," said the United States Attorney, John F. X. McGohey. "Haven't you boys got a copy of it?"

There was then an emotion in the air that I had never encountered before except in the war. In the jungle one spent the nights lunging at things that turned out not to be there. There was a kind of ecstasy in discovering at last that one thing you had reached out to fight was not a shadow but was actually an animal or a Jap. So it was in the courtroom where the indictment of Hiss was handed up. The anti-red reporters had on their faces the terrible look that comes to a bedeviled man when he discovers that the knife with which he has been lunging at phantoms has at last sunk into human flesh.

Perhaps the truth about Hiss's relationship to Chambers will never be known. I think not even Chambers himself can know it now any more than the ex-Communist can ever know that the lawyer would not protect himself with the Fifth Amendment or the troops can ever know that the Japs were not standing over their foxholes dropping dirt down their necks to torture them. When someone points at the darkness and describes it with real fear, it takes great stanchness, or a strong light, to presume the darkness harmless. The strong light was absent in the Hiss case, and it would appear from Lord Jowitt's book that the jury did not face its darkness stanchly.

DOLLAR DILEMMA

Europe's Trade Stagnates . . *by Fritz Sternberg*

THOUGH the United States is still enjoying prosperity and still expanding its production, Western Europe, while not in a state of crisis, is showing a definite trend toward stagnation.

Through their fifth five-year plan, launched in 1951, the Russians propose to increase total national income 60 per cent, industrial production 70 per cent. This means an annual industrial increase of about 14 per cent. The countries of Western Europe, including Britain, have set themselves a more modest goal. They propose to raise their production about 25 per cent during these five years, or 4 to 5 per cent a year. If this goal should be attained, their industrial growth would still be less than one-half Russia's; and it is certain that it will not be attained, even if America's present prosperity continues. The stagnation which began in 1952 is not the result of chance factors which can be easily overcome. Nor can a vigorous effort to combat it be expected.

In the past, when Europe was the world's factory, there was a certain degree of synchronization between the rise of European industrial production and the rise of foreign trade. Foreign trade absorbed from one-fourth to one-third of Europe's total production. In this respect the European economy still differs fundamentally from that of the United States and Russia. The foreign trade of the United States, which ran to fifteen billion dollars a year in 1951 and 1952, contributes only about 5 per cent of the national income, and in Russia the proportion is even smaller. On the eve of World War II Russia's share of world production was more than 10 per cent, but its share of world trade was only 1 per cent. The increase in Russia's foreign trade after the war is due solely to its increased trade with the countries of Eastern Europe and with China. Thus Europe today must compete with two world powers in whose economy foreign trade plays a much smaller part than in its own.

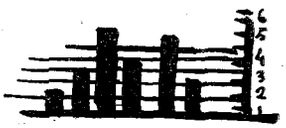
Another crucial point is that Europe's

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of the widely read "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial," is a lecturer and writer on economic subjects.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position in the world's economic balance of power has seriously deteriorated. The underlying political factors are familiar; their economic consequences have so far been only imperfectly recognized. They may be described briefly as follows:

1. Before World War II Europe was able to pay for about 32 per cent* of its imports with revenue from capital invested abroad. Having lost most of its



foreign capital during the war, it has been able in recent years (taking into account the shifts in the price level) to pay for no more than 9 per cent of its imports in this way.

2. The revenue from what is left of Europe's overseas investments is just about sufficient to amortize the debts it incurred during the war to the United States and Canada. Thus *98 per cent of Europe's imports must now be paid for by exports.*

3. The decisive shift in world-trade prices has various causes, not the least being the decline of the old colonial imperialism. Numerous Asiatic nations have become independent states or are struggling for their independence and require for themselves a large proportion of their foodstuffs and raw materials. Prices of such commodities have therefore risen more than those of industrial products. In consequence, the countries of Europe, in order to import the same volume of goods as in 1938, would have to increase exports by 44 per cent over that year and by 80 per cent over the present.

What this change means in terms of closing the dollar gap was indicated by the "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War": "Alternatively expressed, Western European countries needed to achieve in trade with outside areas export increases or import reductions totaling about $8,000,000,000 (valued in present prices) from the 1938 levels of their trade." To stem the deterioration in their foreign-trade balances European countries have increased their exports 40 per cent, but this has closed only half the gap. The "Economic Survey" says: "The 40 per cent increase in the volume of exports to other areas from 1938 to 1951, though substantial, was itself not sufficient to cover the deterioration in the terms of trade, the loss of property income, and the diminished scope for invisible earnings." The gap remaining has been covered by American aid.

*All figures in this section are taken from the "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War," Geneva, 1953.

THE CHARACTER of the new Administration and the composition of Congress make it unlikely that in coming years American aid will be maintained at its present level. What, then, will happen? Well, Europe can always achieve a state of equilibrium by reducing imports; but such a solution is easier on paper than in reality, for it would intensify social tensions. In 1938, the last year before World War II, European imports were not at a very high level, for Europe, like America, had not fully recovered from the depression; today they are below even the 1938 level. A further reduction would cause a decline in production, mass unemployment, and a lowered standard of living. Of the four major European powers, only Britain, thanks to the Labor government, has experienced a slight rise in living standards over the pre-war level. Throughout continental Europe the pre-war standard has at best been barely regained. Hence any further deterioration might have an explosive effect.

"Europe—The Way Ahead," the fourth annual report of the Office of European Economic Cooperation, correctly states:

> The panaceas for closing the dollar gap which entail lack of economic progress, large unemployment, or living standards so low as to threaten social stability do not face the real issues. Hence the problem cannot be resolved simply by drastic curtailments of Western Europe's imports from the dollar area to the present level of its dollar earnings. Apart from the serious consequences of such a course for segments of American agriculture and industry, it would mean for Europe a disastrous denial of most essential agricultural and industrial goods now obtainable only from the dollar area.

If drastic import limitations would only worsen Europe's situation, what is the solution? Theoretically it is to increase exports to such a degree that the present import volume can be maintained as the basis of an expanding economy. But is it likely that exports can be increased sufficiently in the near future to cover the present dollar gap? What are the possibilities?

It would be possible, first, to increase European exports to the United States, but "Trade, Not Aid" is as yet a slogan not a policy, and the Eisenhower Administration apparently does not intend to take any decisive action this year to increase American imports from Europe. Contrary to a widely held view, European exports to America have declined considerably since World War II. In 1951, when they were at their post-war peak, they were still lower than in 1929, though American production in 1951 was twice as great as in 1929. Figures for individual years should deceive no one with respect to the over-all trend, and direct action on the part of America will be required to change this trend. If in a time of peak prosperity such action has not been forthcoming, there is little reason to expect it later.

A SECOND POSSIBILITY is to increase European exports to Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. What is the situation there? Europe's imports from the Soviet Union and the satellite countries amounted in 1938 (at 1948 prices) to $3,150,000,000, in 1948 to $1,150,000,000, and in 1951 to $850,000,000, or $2,300,000,000 below the pre-war figure. It should be borne in mind that the total European foreign-trade deficit is well over $4,000,000,000. Should Western Europe's trade with Eastern Europe, exports as well as imports, regain the pre-war level, more than half of this deficit would be eliminated. These figures show plainly just how fatal to the economy of Western Europe has been the loss of the East European market. Whether the downward trend of recent years will be halted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the immediate future, let alone give way to a rise, is of course preeminently a political question.

There remains a third possibility—such an increase in total international trade as would offer both America and Europe a real chance to acquire new markets and increase their exports. Recent studies have shown that if the American economy during the next decade expands as rapidly as in the last half-century, the United States will be under the necessity of importing raw materials in far greater volume than heretofore. If it should organize large-scale capital exports for this purpose, and if part of the necessary machinery and capital goods should be supplied by Europe, this triangular development might furnish the basis for an increase in world trade and mitigate Europe's difficulties to some extent. For such a program to have any real effect in Europe, however, certain conditions must be fulfilled. The formidable difficulties are well summed up in another passage in the "Economic Survey."

A major step forward in working out an integrated pattern of trade would be taken if European countries, the overseas countries affiliated with them, and the United States could fix the general outline and over-all magnitude of a long-term development program, followed by the elaboration of specific projects. To serve the purpose indicated, such a development program would need to meet several criteria: (a) it should be reasonably firm as to the total investment contemplated and its scheduling over the period; (b) it should give European countries an even chance to provide the capital equipment and other goods financed with dollar loans; (c) it should be coordinated with other development programs, such as the Colombo plan and the investments undertaken by France and Belgium in their dependent territories; (d) it should seek to effect an equitable balance between the development of dollar-earning and dollar-saving exports of foodstuffs and raw materials from the overseas countries and the industrial-development aims of these countries.

While it is theoretically possible that such a program might some day be carried out, the next few years are not likely to see any practical action to enable the countries of Europe substantially to increase their exports. As long ago as 1949, when optimism about the effects of the Marshall Plan was still the order of the day, I wrote (in "Living with Crisis"), "Europe will not be economically independent in three to four years. It is absolutely unrealistic to count on an economically independent Europe after this relatively brief interval. The sooner this is generally realized, the better." By 1955 ten years will have elapsed since the end of World War II—ten years of European economic dependence on the United States. Vigorous common action on the part of the United States and the countries of Europe would be necessary to overcome the present stagnation and restore Europe's economic independence, but there are no signs that such an effort is under way.

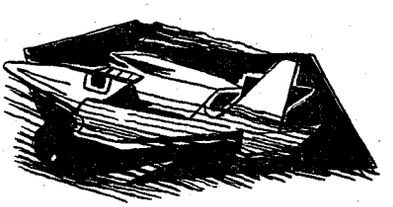
RELUCTANT ALLIES

Danes Fear McCarthyism . . *by Erling Bjol*

Copenhagen

IS SOMETHING still rotten in the state of Denmark? Some military planners in the Pentagon probably think so, for the Danes are behaving like rather reluctant allies. A few months ago the government's decision to extend the period of military service to eighteen months, on the insistence of General Ridgway, occasioned rebellious demonstrations by several garrisons. More important, on June 23, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Hans Hedtoft, after months of wavering, announced that he would not consent to the establishment of foreign air bases on Danish soil. Since a majority for the bases cannot be obtained in the Folketing without his party, he has blocked one of the projects agreed on at the NATO Lisbon conference.

The plan was that two air bases should be built at the airfields of Tirstrup and Vandel in Jutland which by the end of 1954 should be ready for 200 United States planes. American ground troops to the number of about 4,000 were also to be stationed in Jutland. Negotiations concerning the bases have been going on for at least a year. When the plan was first made public last summer, it was hailed in Denmark by the leaders not only of the two government parties—the Agrarian and the Conservative Party—but also by the Social Democratic opposition. The arrangement was generally considered a valuable contribution to the defense of Danish territory. Of course the Communists opposed it, as did one other small party, the neutralist Liberal Party, which holds 13 of the 149 seats in the Folketing. The Single Taxers were not able to make up their mind about the matter. The three parties in favor of the bases, and generally speaking of the Atlantic alliance, had an easy majority in the Folketing with their combined 118 votes—the Conservatives and Agrarians have 59 seats, and the Social Democrats also have 59.



On second thought, however, the Social Democrats and the Agrarians became more hesitant. They saw that the Norwegians were unwilling to change their policy of not allowing foreign troops on Norwegian territory in peace time, and they began to have misgivings about the popular reaction to foreign

ERLING BJOL, a Danish journalist, has been contributing to The Nation *for several years.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Declaration of Independence

Because of what is termed its "vulgarizing effect" upon the people the invasion of Scandinavia by American "commercialized culture" has aroused energetic opposition among intellectuals, who in Scandinavia, as elsewhere in Europe, are a powerful force in shaping public opinion. It is largely their influence that is responsible for the "creeping anti-Americanism" in all three countries.

Many Scandinavians fear the international results of America's present foreign policy less than the destructive effect of American standards on European cultural traditions. This attitude derives from their unshakably individualistic view of life and explains the Danish people's pleasure in the appointment of an eminent and respected scholar who has been connected with the Communist Party to the chair of American literature at the University of Aarhus. The appointment, made by a predominantly conservative government, is considered a kind of declaration of independence inasmuch as it runs counter to what is termed "McCarthyist trends."—*From a communication to* The Nation *by Frederica Kirchner, an American journalist now living in Copenhagen.*

troops in Denmark. If the Norwegians had taken a different attitude, there would have been less reason to fear this reaction, for the Danes are inclined to follow Norway's lead in foreign policy.

In the negotiations with NATO officials the Danish authorities cautiously suggested that British or Canadian forces might arouse less opposition than United States troops. Justly or unjustly, British and Canadian soldiers are believed to behave better than G. I.'s. The NATO officials replied that it was not practicable to have other than American troops stationed in Denmark. The Danes raised another point. They said that Denmark could not be effectively defended unless more NATO troops were stationed south of the border in Schleswig-Holstein. They were told that no forces were available for that purpose.

THE NEGOTIATIONS seem to have been stalled by a disagreement on the question of command. From what has been said in the parliamentary debate following Mr. Hedtoft's sensational announcement it appears the Danish government wanted foreign troops in Denmark, like Danish troops, to be under NATO's Northern Regional Command, while the Americans insisted that air-base units should be under the direct command of the United States air force.

In his decisive statement of June 23 Mr. Hedtoft said: "The experience of Iceland shows that the stationing of allied troops in a small country can easily cause serious antagonism in the population. . . . To me it is obvious that the stationing of foreign troops in this country would not increase the broad popular unity behind the Atlantic Pact to which it must be our task to contribute." Why, it may be asked, did the Social Democrats not fear this popular reaction until now? One reason is purely political. The general elections last April showed that the Conservatives, who had been the most outspoken advocates of the American air bases, had lost strength. The Socialists, on the other hand, gained two seats. Again, when the new constitution was voted on at the end of May, it barely obtained the necessary percentage to become law, and it was apparent that many Socialist voters had abstained to show their disapproval of a hotly debated section which allows the government to yield part of the country's sovereignty to "international organizations." Other provisions of the new constitution had long been urged by the Socialists, and their action could only be attributed to their dislike of too rigid commitments to NATO.

After the April elections the victorious Socialists did not conceal their desire to take over the government, but they could only do so with the aid of the Liberals, who refused to cooperate. The Liberals made it clear that the Social Democrats could count on their support later—that is, after the first general election under the new constitution in September—if the Socialists changed their policy toward NATO.

One should not assume that the Social Democrats have changed their minds about the air bases solely to please the Liberals. The decisive factor is the voters' growing objection to the idea of having American troops and planes stationed in Denmark. This development may be due partly to the "new" Russian policy, though Danes do not put much faith in the sincerity of the recent Russian line, to judge from the poor results obtained by the Communists at the last general election. In fact, Mr. Hedtoft announced his new position while the Russians were hunting down German strikers in Berlin.

Much more important than Malenkov's peace offensive is the change of government in the United States. The antics of Senator McCarthy are devastating to the prestige of the United States, and Mr. Dulles's "liberation policy" has had almost equally unfortunate consequences. "How would we be sure that American planes based in Denmark, only a few hundred miles from Russia, would not be used to 'liberate' the countries behind the Iron Curtain—particularly since the Americans apparently do not want to put them under the same command as the Danish defense forces?" Preoccupation with this question, more than anything else, has made the Danes unwilling to grant the air bases. Mr. Hedtoft admitted that bases might become desirable in "another international situation."

SEASCAPE

I watch the oncoming wave
in the slow sunlight,
fluid spine long sharpening to
sun gleam, to delicate laced spume,
till it reaches the shore rocks, hurrying
to outrush its running brothers.

I watch the oncoming wave
advance, a green column
subtly fighting in its shoreward flow,
sucking the strong counterthrust
of the riptide pull, the undertow
it conquers and is conquered by.

I watch the oncoming wave
lazily rise, swell, move like a
live cordillera, till in a last
urgent spasm it explodes to
fragments on the receiving rocks,
embraced, caressed, and killed.

EDWIN ROLFE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NO LONGER A JUDGE

An Ex-Jurist Tells Why . . *by Delbert Metzger*

I HAVE in my time associated quite intimately with many judges. Of course, they are not all alike—they could not be. A judge, like other human instruments of government or justice, is or comes to be the product of his environment, his education, his experience, and, yes, his prejudices. Many judges, moreover, lean heavily on the secret advice of others.

Unfortunately, the whole history of our law has been an attempt to conceal these facts; to make the public accept a judge as a kind of legal oracle—indeed, too many judges acquire what we might call an oracle complex. Yet occasionally some judge admits the falsity of the well-built fiction that a judge centers his attention on impersonal rules of law and is otherwise uninfluenced, and comes out with a decision that is the product of his application of these rules to the facts in the case.

Chancellor Kent, in a charming burst of frankness, once wrote: "I saw where justice lay, and the moral issues decided the court half the time. I then sat down to search the authorities. . . . I might once in a while be embarrassed by a technical rule, but I almost always found principles suited to my view of the case." How true this is of many judges! How often they do exhaustive research only to justify a preconceived opinion or inclination!

Of course we know that if the law were blindingly certain, the Supreme Court could not split five to four or six or seven to two, as it does with growing frequency in cases involving the rights of free speech and conscience. We may recall that only a few years ago a majority of the Supreme Court gave life and meaning to the First Amendment, even when applied to persons

Judge Metzger

holding unpopular political opinions or to militant trade-union leaders. But as the late Chief Justice Hughes once remarked, the Constitution is what the judges say it is.

How to make or keep judges courageous, sensible, and just in their views and acts in hysterical times is an unsolved problem, calling for the earnest and continuing efforts of thousands of lawyers. Federal judges, whose independence and mental courage the Constitution sought to protect by having them appointed for life, seem to be swayed by fear and hysteria to as great a degree as those who are appointed or elected for limited terms. Many persons believe that all judges should be elected for limited terms. Others believe they should be appointed for probationary terms and afterward reappointed. The Missourians have worked this idea into quite a complete plan. California has devised a somewhat similar plan, and I understand Illinois is about to adopt one. My own view is that the lawyers of the country or of a given section should have much more to say about the selection of judges than the legislators or executive officers of the government and more than the voting public.

We know that when the Constitution was first framed it was for the most part a plan for the creation of a democratic republic. When it went to the people they said, "What about our rights, our guaranties and protections?" It took ten years to force through the first ten amendments, called the Bill of Rights, but it was done. Honest, liberty-loving lawyers did most of the work.

I believe that loyalty to our beloved America means loyalty to its people and to its traditions. I distinguish between office-holders in power at a given time, any time, judges as well as others, and the people, in whom all power rests under the Constitution. It seems to me that what is too frequently demanded today is loyalty to office-holders. America, to perpetuate the grandeur and glory of a democratic republic, must get back to due regard for the inherent rights of its citizens: the right to criticize governmental activities, the right to read any book and listen to any speaker, the right to bargain freely, and the right to think and live as intelligent and free men, enjoying all civil rights intended by our Constitution. Let us put democracy in practice in our own country before we worry about reforming the political ideas of people of foreign nations.

THERE EXISTS today, as much as ever before, an urgent need for courageous lawyers to speak out against infringements by Congress and the courts on the Bill of Rights, and against the curbing of civil rights generally. During the infamous Palmer raids of the 1920's many distinguished lawyers and jurists pointed out that behind the façade of the anti-red crusade an assault was being

---

JUDGE DELBERT METZGER was appointed to the United States District Court of Hawaii in 1939 and served until the closing days of the Truman Administration, when he failed of reappointment because of his decisions in political cases. Early this year he received an award from the National Lawyers' Guild for his "outstanding contribution to the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made on the principles of American democracy. In May, 1920, twelve prominent attorneys had the courage to publish a profoundly significant sixty-three-page pamphlet entitled "To the American People—Report upon the Illegal Practices of the U. S. Department of Justice." Among them were Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard Law School; Felix Frankfurter, then professor of law at Harvard; Zechariah Chafee, Jr.; and Francis Fisher Kane, who had resigned from his post as United States Attorney at Philadelphia in protest against the raids.

Lewis Freeland Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, was called before the House Rules Committee and his impeachment demanded because, after investigation, he had canceled 2,500 warrants that had been issued. Post turned the committee hearing into a trial of his accusers. Later, in his book "The Deportation Delirium of 1920," he said: "The whole Red Crusade stood revealed as a stupendous and cruel fake, and had the facts, as they were then thrust upon my attention, been generally known, public condemnation of the Department of Justice and its cooperating agencies would have been swift and sure." He exposed the anti-labor purpose behind the raids.

THIS IS apparently the basic purpose today—to wipe out the gains made by American workers under Franklin D. Roosevelt. The danger today is that with the McCarrans, the McCarthys, and the Francis Walters ready to smear anyone who comes to the defense of the Bill of Rights so few have the courage to speak out. I cannot agree with Judge Learned Hand that the advocacy of their ideas by 30,000 American Communists, out of a population of 160,000,000, constitutes a "clear and present danger" to the people of the United States. As to Hawaii, is it rational to suppose that sixty persons advocating unorthodox political and economic ideas can be a "clear and present danger" to the political life of a territory of half a million people? What I have said, I suppose, makes it clear why I was not reappointed to my federal judgeship, particularly when judges who preside over Smith act trials where there are convictions are promptly promoted and Smith act prosecutors are made judges.

Censorship Preview

By Jeanne Riha

THE United States army ran an extremely popular information and educational center for the people of Tokyo during the occupation. It was almost always crowded; students brought along their rice and chopsticks, polished off a fast meal at noon without interrupting their reading, and stayed on for afternoon study.

After the occupation ended, the center was transferred to the American embassy and was renamed the American Cultural Center. On the night of June 16, 1952, almost exactly a year before President Eisenhower was to give his blessings to State Department censorship, fifty Japanese college students, as well as my husband and myself, got a preview of the department's version of intellectual freedom.

We were at the center for a regular semi-monthly meeting of the International Students' Association. At these sessions students chose newsy topics and batted them back and forth in English to give both their English and their brains a workout. The army had let them run the show themselves. They had always chosen their own subjects, chairmen, and meeting dates. We had never seen an American official taking part.

But that night the American librarian of the center attended. In fact, she opened the meeting with a brief talk, the substance of which was that America was using the building as a guest of the Japanese and that obviously it would be discourteous for a guest to make unfavorable remarks about a host. Therefore, she concluded, the United States henceforth would not permit any speaker to criticize the Japanese government.

"That's why we have to ask you not to discuss internal political activities in this building," the librarian said. "Please don't take it that I'm trying to curtail freedom of speech."

There was a moment of startled silence. Then the students turned to one another and giggled, stared, wrinkled their noses in puzzlement. Soon hands began shooting up all over the room and embarrassing questions popped.

Were international affairs all right to discuss? Oh, yes, it's just internal politics that are taboo.

But in discussing international affairs, isn't it necessary to discuss Japanese government policies? Japan and its internal politics are part of the world picture, after all. There was no answer to that.

A friendly young fellow challenged the librarian's statement that the Americans were guests in the Japanese house. They were more like brothers, he thought. A less friendly young man asked what right the American government had to tell people what they could discuss. The same point was made by others.

"I'm very sorry," apologized the librarian. "I know you feel disappointed, but I really have no alternative and I hope you'll enjoy talking about something else."

The students then asked her to go over their proposed topics for the next discussion. "Point one is rearmament," noted the librarian. "That is a controversial subject." Thus point one was ruled out. "Social welfare in Japan—nothing wrong with that [brightly]; always room for improvement in a country." (But bitter internal politics raged then on aid for veterans and their widows.) "Trade with Red China—that's another one I think we ought to avoid." (As international as it was internal.) "Advancement of women—that's all right."

The librarian finished her censoring and covered the roomful of murmurs with an uncomfortable laugh. "Well," she said, "let's try it for a while and see how it works." But it was already obvious how it was going to work.

The students began the topic for the day: "What we gained and lost from the occupation." The first speaker mentioned the winning of freedom of speech and assembly. There was an outburst of giggles that required no interpretation.

JEANNE RIHA, a journalist, traveled through the Far East last year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Turning Point of Our Time

THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS. By the Earl Jowitt. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

By Charles Alan Wright

THE strange case of Alger Hiss is made the stranger, and the more baffling, by this new commentary. The Earl Jowitt, who was rewarded for a lifetime of service to England's Labor Party by appointment to the highest judicial post in that country, shows himself here to be a shrewd and capable lawyer and a graceful writer. But by pointing out problems and inconsistencies hitherto unobserved in this most celebrated criminal case of our day, while at the same time offering no sure answers to the questions which have been manifest in the case from its outset, he has only added to the bewilderment of those who have sought to know the truth about Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss.

Jowitt himself does not claim to know the answer to this case, nor does he share the view of many Americans that the verdict of the jury has settled beyond cavil Hiss's guilt of the crimes of which he was charged. Jowitt is a passionate defender of the jury system. He points out, however, that the publicity which the Hiss case received before it went to trial was not conducive to a calm and unprejudiced hearing of it by the jury, and he argues that the trial was so long, complex, and filled with largely irrelevant issues that the jury could not fairly be expected to reach the right answer on all the matters laid before them. This latter point is, I think, particularly well taken; I have elsewhere shown, by comparison of contemporary newspaper accounts with the official transcript, that trained reporters, writing while matters were fresh in their mind and with all the benefits of having taken notes and interviewed the lawyers, frequently missed the significance of or reported inaccurately parts of the evidence. How, then, could we expect better from the lay people who sat on the jury for several weary months without such advantages?

LORD JOWITT'S principal contribution to an understanding of this difficult case is his repeated insistence on putting first things first. Hiss was charged with having lied when he denied giving State Department documents to Chambers. It is on this charge, and on the documents with which Chambers supported it, that the case must stand or fall. The disposition of an old Ford with "a sassy trunk," the supposed trip to Peterboro, the conversation with Hede Massing, the prothonotary warbler—all these are interesting and significant, and Jowitt treats them with care. But in doing so he puts them in proper perspective; again and again he insists that it is on the documents that we must center our attention. And after concluding that no jury would be justified in believing uncorroborated statements of Chambers, and that these miscellaneous incidents do not furnish such corroboration, Jowitt makes the most searching sort of examination of the origins and contents of the papers which Chambers produced from a dusty dumbwaiter shaft, and with which he sealed the doom of Hiss.

This analysis of the documents raises for the first time in public a line of argument which until now has been fully presented only in the brief on Hiss's appeal. Why, if the four memoranda in Hiss's handwriting were intended for the Russians rather than working notes as he contended, are they hastily written and overwritten, some of them with more than one pencil? Why do they refer to matters which would have been of interest to Hiss's boss and make no mention of other material in the documents on which they are based which would have been of great interest to the Russians? How does it happen that some of the documents supposedly copied on the Hiss typewriter never went to his office? Would Hiss have pilfered another office to obtain for photographing a carbon copy of a certain document when the original was on his desk?

These troublesome questions were largely ignored by the prosecution at the trial of Hiss, and properly so. For the documents themselves, some in the defendant's handwriting, others typed on his old Woodstock, stood, as Mr. Murphy put it, as "immutable witnesses" to the crime. In the absence of any credible explanation as to how Chambers could have got them other than from Hiss, it is hard to avoid concluding that Chambers's story must have been true. The defense offered no such credible explanation at the trial; though even with the case in such a posture Lord Jowitt is apparently bothered enough by the questions just posed about the documents that, as a juror, he would have come in with the old Scottish verdict of "not proven."

HERE Lord Jowitt has been needlessly hampered by self-imposed limitations on his study. He confined himself to the trial record and to Chambers's book and did not examine the mass of additional data which the defense gathered last year for an unsuccessful motion for a new trial. Had he considered these data, he would have known that the possibility of forgery by typewriter has now been demonstrated, and thus that the internal evidence of the documents which points away from the likelihood of their having come from Hiss is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that they seem to have been copied on the Hiss typewriter. This refusal to consider all available data has served Jowitt ill in another respect. He is disturbed, and rightly so, by the indications that the jury accepted Mr. Murphy's suggestion in his closing argument, absolutely unsupported by a word of evidence, to compare peculiarities in the typing of the documents with peculiarities in some letters typed by Mrs. Hiss, and to conclude from this that Mrs. Hiss was the typist. Surely it would have been interesting in this connection to point out the affidavit by an F. B. I. expert, made in

---

CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT, associate professor of law at the University of Minnesota, attended much of the second Hiss trial and commented on it in the Minnesota Law Review *and other journals.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connection with the motion for a new trial, that in copying work of the sort involved in the documents it is not possible to identify the typist by peculiarities in the typing.

FOUR POINTS which Jowitt makes have been largely ignored in previous studies of this case. Chambers said that the first papers Hiss gave him were secret State Department papers obtained while Hiss was working for a Senate committee. Jowitt shows that every factual detail of this Chambers story is demonstrably untrue, and, most crushing, that the papers supposedly given were not secret at all but a matter of public record which it was Hiss's job to give to newspapermen. Hiss, it will be remembered, claims that he knew Chambers as George Crosley, a free-lance writer who planned to do articles about the committee. Jowitt devotes much attention to the question of names and concludes that Chambers did in fact use the name of Crosley. And he points out the many inconsistent stories Chambers told about collecting Communist Party dues from Hiss.

Finally, Jowitt examines the evidence about Donald Hiss, a brother of Alger, who was said by Chambers also to have been a Communist, and concludes: "If ever a man was cleared of the aspersion cast upon him, that man was Donald Hiss." The conclusion is too strong. Donald Hiss was "cleared," in Jowitt's view, by the government's failure to challenge, at Alger's trial, Donald's unqualified denial of Chambers's charges against him. Might not Mr. Murphy properly have supposed that his hands were full enough proving the guilt of the Hiss that was on trial without setting out after a Hiss who was not on trial? The matter of Donald Hiss is a loose thread in the Chambers story, but had I been Lord Jowitt, I should have waited for someone to pull on it before feeling so sure that it is enough to unravel the whole fabric.

The book might also be more convincing if its author were not so competent a lawyer. A poor lawyer learns from law books; a good lawyer takes his teachings from human experience. Time and again Jowitt passes judgment on incidents in this case in terms of what he has learned about people and behavior in what must have been a very full and observant life. The most striking example of this comes when Jowitt remarks that it is "most extraordinary" that if Hiss were a spy he should have been such a fool as to hand over documents in his own handwriting. "In the course of a long life in the law I have often thought that as a general rule the wicked people are not foolish, and the foolish people are not wicked. This is a case in which, at one and the same time, a man is being very wicked and very foolish." Again Jowitt wonders, if Hiss were guilty would he have brought a libel action against Chambers and instructed his lawyer to press a demand that Chambers produce any documents he might have? Would he have had an attorney in the Department of Justice notarize his signature on the transfer of a car if it were going to a Communist organizer? Would he have given the incriminating typewriter to his maid's children after he knew Chambers had broken from the party, rather than disposing of it more effectively? Would he have initialed documents as having come to his desk before handing them to Chambers to be photographed? These are interesting thoughts, although one cannot but reflect how difficult the lot of police departments would be if criminals were not usually fools.

THE BASIC objection to this line of inquiry is that no hypothesis about the Hiss case fits normal patterns of human behavior. If Hiss is guilty, then he did conduct this sordid spying in a manner remarkably foolish for so intelligent a man. And we must be equally puzzled by Chambers's repeated assertions for nine years that Hiss, though a Communist, had not been a spy, as well as by such bizarre conduct as hiding the microfilm in the pumpkin. But he who would claim that Hiss was framed by Chambers must, in Jowitt's phrase, bat a sticky wicket indeed. On this hypothesis we must suppose that Chambers schemed for years to destroy a casual acquaintance who had helped him out, and that he chose for his means a method, forgery by typewriter, which until a year ago had been thought quite impossible. We must suppose this, further, though we know of no motive

HAVELOCK ELLIS PSYCHOLOGY of SEX

His LATEST BOOK on the SEXUAL LIFE Crystallizes the FINDINGS of a LIFE-TIME

THE NATION says:
"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

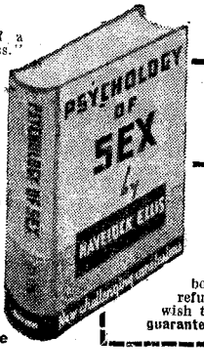
NEW REPUBLIC says:
"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness."

BERTRAND RUSSELL says:
"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

— Authorized — Unabridged

PART OF CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed"
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relations to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse & Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy: Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Dreams: Their Significance
Sexual Fetishes & Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sexual Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women: of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty: Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life During Pregnancy; Immediately After
Sexual Feelings in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Position in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious": "Libido"
The Art of Love
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index



"THE BEST OF ALL AVAILABLE BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT."
—The American Medical Association's Hygeia

New Edition
COMPLETE IN ONE VOL.
389 Pages
READ FIRST—Then decide!
5-Day Money-back Guarantee

Send this coupon NOW to:
Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 632-H, 251 W. 19 St., N.Y. 11

I am sending you this portion of advertisement with my name and address in margin to take advantage of your offer on PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX by Havelock Ellis. I will pay $3 and few cents delivery charge upon arrival of book. I have the right to return book within 5 days, for full refund of purchase price, if not entirely delighted. (If you wish to save delivery charges send only $3. Same money-back guarantee, of course.) I am over 21.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which would have impelled Chambers to such villainy. Lord Jowitt avoids this problem by relying on the evidence of Drs. Binger and Murray that Chambers is a "psychopathic personality." Though uttering a fervent prayer that evidence of this character will never be admitted in English courts, he says, "Having read their evidence, I must admit that I am sufficiently impressed no longer to be influenced in my judgment by the apparent absence of motive on the part of Chambers." I agree that this evidence could well be the key to the case, and that the ridicule with which it has been fashionable to treat it in this country is unfortunate. But a critic who is thus able to reject normal human instincts and behavior as a criterion against which to test one hypothesis should not be over quick to discard a conflicting hypothesis because it is inconsistent with normal behavior and instincts.

It is for these reasons that I think no amount of analysis of the existing data, no matter how carefully and perceptively done, will solve the Hiss case. This extraordinary drama is not likely to yield to ordinary lines of attack. Only a confession by one of the principals or an accomplice can put an end to the doubts which must assail partisans of both protagonists, as well as ordinary citizens without such an allegiance to whom this strange case marks one of the great turning points of our time.

New Books in Brief

"Different" Folksongs

AMERICAN FOLKSONGS OF PROTEST. By John Greenway. University of Pennsylvania Press. $6.75.

Mr. Greenway has taken great liberty in calling this volume "American *Folksongs* of Protest." Very few of his 226 selections are true folksongs—that is, songs in oral tradition, of unknown authorship, expressive of people moving from place to place and adapting themselves to new environments. Undaunted by what folklorists have always used as a guide in evaluating material, Mr. Greenway has made his own definition. The "folk" are no longer the sum total of people living in a community but the working class only, and what's more, "the C. I. O. worker, not the A. F. of L. worker, who is labor's aristocrat." Within your own frame of reference it is easy to label phenomena, and this is what Mr. Greenway has done.

The stories about Woody Guthrie, Ella May Wiggins, Aunt Molly Jackson, and Harry McClintock are fascinating; the data on Negro songs, quite poor; the general documentation of the songs, excellent. It would have been nice if more melodies were printed; however, many of these songs are simply new words set to familiar tunes. Mr. Greenway has included a bibliography of phonograph records which is good to have, but practically all of them are out of print.

This is a different kind of "folksong" book, itself a protest against many of the others. The author has an interesting point of view, but a folklorist will have trouble swallowing it.

Witty and Worth While

THE SISTERS MATERASSI. By Aldo Palazzeschi. Translated by Angus Davidson. Doubleday. $3.50.

This exceptional novel, translated with true regard for the spirit as well as the letter of the witty and evocative Italian text, is a *must* for all readers of good fiction. Palazzeschi here recreates the world of the Florentine luxury trades and the special world of the frustrated old maids, his protagonists.

Into their orderly household the sisters bring the orphaned teen-ager, Remo, son of their fourth sister, who had married and gone to live near the Adriatic coast. The spontaneous combustion that Remo's beauty, selfishness, and just plain cussedness create forms the main subject of the novel. The vignettes of customers who come to order exquisite lingerie from the sisters have a Boccaccesque flavor which Palazzeschi alone seems to have inherited from the stones of their native city.

A reading of "The Sisters" is an experience proving that wit is not necessarily incompatible with social comment and that good literature need not be confined to heavy themes. If the Florentine satirist has a moral, it seems to be this, that—providing they offer in exchange enough amusement to others—the naughty inherit the earth.

Elizabethan Actor

THE PLAYER'S BOY. By Bryher. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

"Bryher" is a gifted if somewhat precious Englishwoman whose earlier novel, "The Fourteenth of October," described the Norman invasion of England in 1066. Here she studies the collapse of the Elizabethan spirit in another fresh contribution to the historical-novel genre. The novel is made of five lyric episodes in the life of a player's apprentice. The wider picture of Elizabethan society in decay—and the rise of the Puritan merchants—is quite brilliantly conveyed in a moving elegy of the actors and artists who are unable to sustain their vision when their society has ceased to support them, or to care for the "open" life. There is nothing left for them but to pass away; the great figures of the past are sick and dying, or else Elizabethan heroes like Sir Walter Raleigh are sent to the scaffold by iniquity. The new generation of actors—the apprentices of the tale—are forced into compromise or trade in order to live; the glamour and hope of the Elizabethan period fade from their lives. But the player's boy of Bryher's narrative still remembers the time when he had felt as though lifted into the sky "to tread in a golden globe, where neither Fate nor fear could touch us." The parallel with our own period is obvious—and somehow rather ominous.

Life of Josh Billings

UNCLE SAM'S UNCLE JOSH. By Donald Day. Little, Brown. $4.

A century ago extravagantly eccentric spelling and grammer was generally considered an essential ingredient of American popular humor. The result has been that the humorists of the period, and especially Josh Billings (Henry Wheeler Shaw), are today virtually unreadable. In this volume selections from the writings of Josh Billings, with the more absurd vagaries eliminated, have been put together with connective passages to form something approximating an autobiography. Copi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ous examples of his so-called wit and wisdom follow; these turn out to be neither very witty nor very wise, but close enough to it to keep the reader hopefully skimming.

Woman's Lot

WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Mirra Komarovsky. Little, Brown. $4.

Professor Komarovsky is chairman of the Department of Sociology at Barnard, and with more than a quarter of a century's teaching experience there she has had ample opportunities both to study and observe the changing attitudes of women and toward women as seen through the alembic of her undergraduates. Thus she brings to her subject not only the wide reading of a mind well trained in the social sciences but an intimate experience of the problems of young women in a rapidly moving world.

Her book provides an invaluable analysis of women's dilemmas and the source material relevant to the better understanding of them. It also contains some of the most intelligent recommendations for the improvement of the lot of the female in our society—and incidentally that of the male—to be found anywhere.

Casals and the Prades Festival

By Joseph Fontbernat

Prades, July 5

THE fourth Prades Festival is in full swing. The concerts are held in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and reflection —contrary states of mind, reconciled only by the miracle of Casals. The festival is taking place, as last year, in the famous Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa on the slope of Mount Canigou, most majestic peak of the Catalan Pyrenees.

It has often been asked why Pablo Casals, director and inspirer of the Prades Festival, refuses to play anywhere else. What reasons does he give for this self-imposed withdrawal?

It is common knowledge that the great Catalan 'cellist, who supported unconditionally the Spanish Republic and the autonomous government of Catalonia during the Spanish civil war, took refuge at Prades at the end of the war. In 1946 he gave concerts in Paris and London. These concerts represented, in his mind, his farewell to the public before going back to his beloved Catalonia. But his political illusions soon vanished, and it was then that he made his famous statement: "I will never again play in the capitals of countries which maintain diplomatic relations with Franco Spain." Casals has kept this promise in a way which accords with the sublime and uncompromising character of his art.

Pablo Casals was born at Vendrell, a Catalan village by the Mediterranean, near the Roman city of Tarragona, in a countryside where Roman roads and triumphal arches recall ancient glories. As a child he received an excellent musical education from his father. One day he made himself a musical instrument from a scooped-out calabash. This was his first 'cello and his birth as a 'cellist. By the time he was twelve his playing astonished his friends. Since he was not rich, not even the son of a bourgeois, he began to earn his living early, playing at a Barcelona cafe.

One day at the end of his performance a man came up to him and said: "All the triumphs will be yours and we shall all envy you." This was the great Albéniz, who straightway asked Casals to accompany him to London. Casals refused, saying that he needed more study. Albéniz then gave him a letter of recommendation to Count de Morphy, teacher of the Queen of Spain and master of music at the court. Casals's mother kept this letter in her desk for four years; she made use of it only when Casals started on the great adventure of his first journey abroad. It was from his mother, a true daughter of the imperial city of Tarragona and its strong-willed people, that Casals inherited his prudence, his determination, and his capacity for reflection.

CASALS WAS not yet twenty when he went to Brussels. The Queen of Spain had made him a grant to enable him to study at the Belgian Conservatory, which had a world-wide reputation. The arrival of the country boy, awkward in his Sunday clothes, created a sensation among the other students, who tended to regard themselves as young eagles.

"Let's see, Little Spaniard, it seems that you have a good deal of talent. It also seems that you are the talk of Madrid and Barcelona. Perhaps you will play some Spanish dances for us." This was the greeting of his professor, delivered in a mocking tone which annoyed the young man from Catalonia. "What can you play?"

"Everything," replied Casals.

"Even 'Les Souvenirs de Spa'?" (This was the war-horse of the Belgian school and a most difficult piece.)

"Yes, sir," replied Casals without the least hesitation.

The students laughed, enjoying in advance the joke their professor was about to play on the "little Spaniard."

"But you seem to have no 'cello; I suppose you can play it on any instrument?" the professor went on, still in a joking mood.

"Yes, sir," replied Casals.

He took an instrument offered to him by a student, sat down, tuned it, and the spell was on. Nobody laughed any more. The professor realized how ridiculous he had made himself. When Casals had finished, the professor called him to his office and mumbled some excuse. He offered him the coveted Grand Prix of the conservatory. Casals refused. That very evening he left Brussels, his stipend, and his easy life and went to Paris, where he did not know anybody.

He applied for the position of second 'cello at the Folies Marigny and got it after playing the Saint-Saens Concerto. A little later he fell ill and in his misery decided to return to Barcelona. There he spent some time at odd playing jobs, until his reconciliation with Count de Morphy, who gave him a letter of recommendation to "Monsieur Lamoureux of Paris."

Charles Lamoureux was at that time

JOSEPH FONTBERNAT is the former director of the Barcelona Philharmonic Orchestra, the Symphony Orchestra of Catalonia, the Deodat de Severac Choral Society of Toulouse, and the Catalan Choir of Paris.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

passionately preoccupied with preparations for the first Paris performance of Wagner's "Tristan and Isolde." The old master was sick and in bad humor when Casals appeared before him. Lamoureux took the Count's letter, started reading it and muttered: "He has talent; sure, everybody has talent."

Casals, who did not want to repeat his Brussels experience, interrupted him: "Monsieur, you needn't worry. All I wanted to do was to present this letter to you and now it is done. I will go." And he went.

"Young man!" Lamoureux called after him. "Come back tomorrow with a pianist. I like you."

The master was in no better mood the next day. He was busy writing, but at least he deigned to listen to Casals: "Play something for me, say the Lalo Concerto."

Then he turned his back on him and continued writing.

A second time the miracle occurred. At the first notes the old master stopped writing. He listened motionless, enchanted. When the piece was finished, he embraced Casals and said: "You have genius."

A few days later Casals played at the Lamoureux Concerts, then given at the Théatre du Château d'Eau. Paris acclaimed him. The "little Spaniard" became the greatest 'cellist of all countries and all times.

This is why in 1945, when the war was over and he believed he would soon return to Spain, he went to Paris to play the Lalo Concerto with the Lamoureux Orchestra at the Salle Pleyel. It was in homage to old Lamoureux, who had welcomed him so many years before.

In 1949 he received some munificent offers from America. He refused them all. It was then that the great violinist, Alexander Schneider, went to Prades and asked him: "Since you don't want to go to the public, would you play if the public came to you?" Casals agreed, and the Prades Festival was born.

THE FIRST FESTIVAL was held in the church of the little Roussillon town and was dedicated to Bach in honor of the 200th anniversary of his death. The occasion had its extraordinary aspects. Art lovers from all over the world came to Prades to hear the illustrious exile. Many Catalans crossed the border secretly and in peril of their lives in order to attend. Among them were bishops, politicians of all parties, and a shepherd who arrived with his flock, saying: "This is something which will never be seen again. And so, old as I am, I came down from my mountain because I don't want to miss it." Catalonia was united in paying homage to Casals; it was an event of a rare and precious quality.

In 1951 the festival took place at Perpignan in the palace of the kings of Majorca. Casals placed his podium on the very spot where the throne of the king of Aragon had stood. For fifteen days the capital of Roussillon became the capital of music.

But it was last year that the festival found the setting that suited it best: the famous Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa. Some monks from Urgell first built on this site a poor church of earth and wood. Later on the sanctuary enjoyed the favor of clerics like the Abbot Oliva, one of the dominant figures of medieval Catalonia. A curious detail: the actual cloister of the Abbey of Saint Michel de Cuxa is to be found in the garden of a New York museum, to which a rich American had it transported stone by stone. The cloister that visitors to the festival admire so much is a reconstruction, the work of the great Catalan architect, Joseph Puig i Cadafalch.

When the festival is over, Casals will return to the retreat he has chosen. His legend will continue. Actually, his whole life has something of a legend about it, both in its simplicity and in its naturalness. Everything he does bears the seal of perfection. His triumphant world tours, the honors showered upon him by the great of all nations, and the admiration bordering upon idolatry which his compatriots, especially the humblest, have bestowed upon him, have never made him deviate by a single inch from the straight path. He has always made his own selections and has vigorously separated the good from the bad. Whether he plays his 'cello, directs his orchestra, composes, or plays his piano, he does everything with exquisite care and with a perfection that is invisible but is there all the same. So much for the artist. As for the man, he is all that and more, if possible. This Catalan of Spain is a model of human dignity and a living symbol of loyalty and honor.

In the studio of his house at Prades, next to a portrait of Beethoven, hangs one of Don Quixote, indicating that Casals is ever ready to defend a just cause. One of his favorite sayings is: "I love the language of my fatherland and I remain faithful to its marvels." This, indeed, is why he is now in exile.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION
☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION
☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR
MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS
Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____
STREET_____
CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

7/18/53

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Record Notes

LISZT: "Todtentanz"; Jacquinot with Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); fair performance (with Rimsky-Korsakov's Piano Concerto).

MENDELSSOHN: Concertos for Violin and Orchestra in E Minor and D Minor; Menuhin with Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwängler and RCA Victor Symphony under Menuhin (Victor); the performance of the E Minor is quite poor, that of the engaging youthful D Minor somewhat better, recording of both harsh.

Incidental music to "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; Reiner with Robin Hood Dell Orchestra (Victor); wooden performance.

MOZART: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, K.219; Heifetz with London Philharmonic under Sargent (Victor), fair performance.

Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra, K.365; Amparo and Jose Iturbi; Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, K.466; Jose Iturbi; both with RCA Victor Symphony under Iturbi (Victor); performances of a brazen brutality that has to be heard to be believed.

"Così Fan Tutte"; Hassler, Plumacher, Nentwig, Weikenmeier, Hoppe, and Kelch, with the Stuttgart Tonstudio Orchestra and Chorus under Dünnwald (Remington); a small-scale performance which yet lacks wit, grace, elegance; Plumacher and Nentwig sing fairly well, the others badly.

Overtures to "Don Giovanni" and "The Magic Flute"; Krips with the London Symphony (London); stodgy performances.

Requiem Mass: Cianella, Okerson, Carringer, and Keast with the Robert Shaw Chorale and the RCA Victor Orchestra under Shaw (Victor); the soloists are uniformly inadequate, the chorus only fair, and the over-all effect without refinement or power; recording cloudy and badly balanced.

String Quartet, K.159; Griller Quartet (London); a fine small work; the performance has this group's characteristic gracelessness.

SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 4; Monteux with San Francisco Symphony (Victor); good performance.

SIBELIUS: Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Heifetz with Beecham and the London Philharmonic (Victor); Stern with Beecham and the Royal Philharmonic (Columbia); both effective performances; Stern has the benefit of up-to-date recording, but Heifetz's older performance is well-dubbed (the Heifetz performance with Chausson's Concerto; for Violin, Piano, and String Quartet; Stern's with Sibelius's Four Histofic Scenes).

STRAUSS: Burleske for Piano and Orchestra; Jacquinot with Fistoulari and the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM); effective performance (with Dohnanyi's Variations on a Nursery Theme for Piano and Orchestra).

Alpine Symphony; Konwitschny and the Orchestra of the Munich State Opera (Urania); good performance.

Ein Heldenleben; Krauss with Vienna Philharmonic (London); fair performance.

WEBER: Overtures to "Oberon" and "Euryanthe"; Böhm with Vienna Philharmonic (London); good performances.

ROBERT E. GARIS

Letters

Discrimination in Levittown

Dear Sirs: I am having my wife write this for me because I am a completely paralyzed polio patient confined to a respirator for the past four years. But in spite of my condition I feel a sense of outrage at the situation of a good friend of mine, William Cotter, whose back yard adjoins mine in Levittown. He lives there as a guest of the tenant, who is away on a trip. The house represents a decent place for the Cotter family, Bill, his wife, and five children. Before they moved into this house they lived in inadequate quarters in Port Washington.

Mr. Cotter applied for a Levitt rental and was granted one before the owners discovered he was a Negro. When they sent him an acceptance of his application he gave up his Port Washington apartment. He has since tried to rent or purchase a home time and again and has always been refused. The last time, in fact, he was bluntly told he was "undesirable" because of the color of his skin. This past week the lease on the premises he occupies expired, and already the management has demanded that he vacate immediately.

Last week my wife went to the buying office to see about purchasing our home, which has been altered to fit my particular needs. While there, she asked why the Cotters were having such difficulty buying a home, remarking that they were well liked in the neighborhood. She was told that the Cotters would never be allowed to buy a house in Levittown, and if we felt differently, we needn't buy one here either. In indignation, my wife wrote the management a letter protesting against their decision concerning the Cotters. She took it around to the closest neighbors, and all of them were glad to sign it.

Mr. Cotter, an automobile mechanic,

"This is a book-burning. . . !"
For a LIFT and to Fight McCARTHYISM
Own and Play
MANDEL vs. McCARTHY
actual recording of the sensational televised hearing
NOW 37-minute LP..... $2.00
FREEDOM DISCS
Box 182, Audubon Station, New York 32

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
New Musical Comedy
Me AND Juliet
with ISABEL BIGLEY BILL HAYES JOAN McCRACKEN
RAY WALSTON MARK DAWSON JACKIE KELK
Air-Cond. MAJESTIC THEATRE, W. 44 St.
Eves. at 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat., 2:30
R & H
YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
Air-Cond. ST. JAMES THEATRE, W. 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.

***Before You Go On Vacation Get The Books You Want Through* The Nation**

For the convenience of its readers, *The Nation* maintains a special book-buying service. You can get any book you wish at the regular retail price post-free if your payment accompanies the order; on C.O.D.'s postage is included. When ordering, please give name, author and publisher if possible. (No C.O.D.'s outside the United States.)

•

Please address your orders to Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

VADIM SOBKO

GUARANTEE OF PEACE

Prize Winning Novel 1952

In English — 542 pp. — $1.25

I. V. MICHURIN

SELECTED WORKS

Profusely illustrated, large format, contains illustrations and pomological descriptions of new varieties bred by the great scientist.

In English — 496 pp. — $2.75

New Arrival of Latest Soviet Records

We ship records to all parts of the United States, South America and Canada

1953 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue E-53

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

RECORDING

DO YOU STILL THINK ADLAI COULD DO BETTER?

Stevenson's welcoming and acceptance speeches to the Democratic convention. Unbreakable long-play record. Un-cut. Un-narrated.

$4.00 postpaid or C.O.D.

MIDWAY RECORDS, 5646 Kenwood, Chicago 37

REAL ESTATE

TAX EXEMPT
INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS
Truck Terminals
Warehouses — Manufacturing

we will erect up to six million square feet on a great Industrial Tract in Jersey City for lease.

L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
Financing
565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems Fee, $5.00.

ACRES OF CARPETS

40–80% SAVINGS ON BROADLOOM CARPETS at our New York warehouse. We feature the most famous brands—imported and domestic. We also feature thousands of short roll sections—8 to 100 sq. yds. ea., 18, 15, 12, & 9 ft. seamless widths. Most everything perfect—some irregulars. RUGCRAFT CARPET WAREHOUSE, 123 West 64 Street, New York. Open daily 9–6; June, July and August, Thursday evening and Saturday by appointment only. Free Parking. Telephone: TRafalgar 3-7069.

PERSONALS

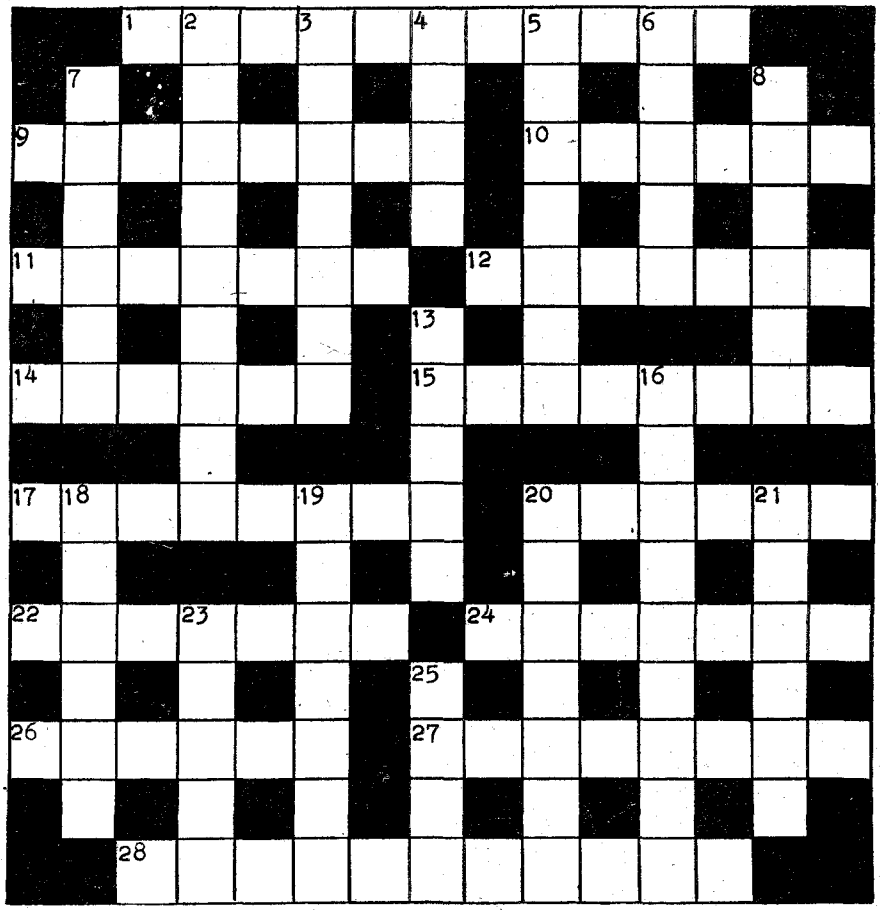
PLASTIC WADING POOL — Regularly $6.50, SPECIAL $4.50. Suitable 2 children —smaller and larger sizes at comparable savings. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. GR 3-7819. 30-Minute Free Parking.

NEED A VACATION?

Then let our RESORT columns on the opposite page solve your problems. And, by the way, do mention *The Nation* when making your reservation.

Crossword Puzzle No. 524

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Pretty soft! It's the answer to 17-20. (6, 5)
9 For a clue, take me back out of 22. (8)
10 and 18 down. Just the bird to go with a Chinese sickle, perhaps. (12)
11 Barely scratches the surface with Henry's official. (7)
12 You should be able to recognize nine out of ten Alps. (7)
14 Quakers like swans, perhaps. (6)
15 *Introduction from* Pilate. (4, 4)
17 and 20 across. Looking around for non-extremists? (It's a selling point, too!) (8, 6)
22 If the tempo weren't without cover, it might be a way to give 9. (7)
24 Dies out, if not under cover. (7)
26 and 25 down. They produce classes of mountains. (10)
27 Figures go on with 28, in a way, if uncrossed. (8)
28 Camels taste bad, when Tom and his family show up! (7, 4)

DOWN

2 If you do, the nap is evidently too heavy. (9)
3 and 23. Gay stage work, featuring Captain Macheath. (7, 5)
4 The words of 15 begin with this sound. (4)
5 Charmingly simple. (7)
6 Almost any London shop should carry it. (5)
7 "Errors, like _____, upon the surface flow;
He who would search for pearls must dive below." (Dryden) (6)
8 The lowest tomb to make a ship. (6)
13 One of the simple machines might be the flying kind. (5)
16 Does it imply an equivalent of "tally-ho!" in the deer-chase? (9)
18 See 10 across.
19 If you referred to this as a nice tax, it wouldn't be strictly accurate. (7)
20 Critical sort of curve. (7)
21 23's is a period of time. (6)
23 See 3 down.
25 See 26 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 523

ACROSS:—1 STOCK EXCHANGE; 10 MASSEUR; 11 CARABAO; 12 STOCKINGS; 13 RARER; 16 CRAFTIER; 19 GERMANIC; 20 ACCESS; 22 MUSIC; 23 HONORIFIC; 25 TRIBUTE; 26 THINNER; 27 PART AND PARCEL.

DOWN:—2 TASSO; 3 CHECKING ACCOUNT; 4 ERRING; 5 COCKSURE; 6 AIRCRAFT CARRIER; 7 GABARDINE; 8 SMASHING; 9 and 14 FOUR-IN-HAND; 15 HIROSHIMA; 17 REST CURE; 18 EIGHTEEN; 21 INSTEP; 22 MATE; 24 FENCE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

CRYSTAL LAKE

ADIRONDACK HEAVEN
• LES PINE
• MARTHA SCHLAMME
• LEON BIBB plus Many more
• Folk & Square Dancing, orchestra, cocktail lounge, curio shop
• 9 Tennis Courts, fishing, riding, bicycling, etc.
• All water sports on 60-acre private Crystal Lake
CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE
CHESTERTOWN, NEW YORK
Phone: 3830 N. Y. Phone: TU 2-0477

Informal adult resort that is "different"

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Pottersville, N. Y.
ON SCHROON LAKE
STAFF DIRECTORS
Alfred Geto—Entertainment
Jules & Anita Adolphe—Folk Dancing
Peter Seeger—Festivals
Gerald Fried & His Orchestra
All Sports—5 Championship Tennis Courts
Resort Phones: Chestertown (N. Y.) 2830 or 9681
City Office Phone: CO 5-0490
LEAH OKUN, director

Adult Inter-Racial Camp
ALL SPORTS
DANCING
THEATER
CAMP UNITY
Wingdale, N.Y.
2-DAY WEEKENDS—$16 per person
FRIDAY TO SUNDAY
Special Group Rates on Request
Entertainment and Dancing Nightly to Unity Band
Boating, Swimming, All Sports
$40 & $43 WEEKLY (no tipping)
includes everything
For information and reservations, write to
1 Union Square, Room 610, N. Y. 3; AL 5-6960—6961

MERRIEWOODE
FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile Lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water-Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Arts & Crafts, Square & Folk Dancing Instruction • Planned Evening Entertainment • Congenial Crowd • Non-Sectarian
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Send for Picture Folder N
Phone: Hancock 98 Ring 13

A "Forest-Farm-Lake-Mountain Paradise"
For ALL Faiths, Races, Colors, Convictions
VERY GOOD FOOD, Room, Bath, $4 to $7 daily
Evening FORUM, July-August—SPEAKERS
WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Inc.
(near) CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
300 Acres, 2 Lakes, Trout Stream, Forests, Swimming, Boating, Fishing, Music, Games, Excursions, Mt. Climbing, Square Dancing.
Informal, Friendly HOME ATMOSPHERE
Write for FREE FOLDER—Rates, Transportation

FESTIVAL HOUSE now open. Low pre-season rates. Excellent summer theatre on premises free to guests. Walk to Tanglewood. Unusual vacation experience. Write Bruno Aron, Lenox, Mass. Phone: 367W.

THE PINES. Modern year-round place for relaxation, in heart of Blue Mountains of Penn. Dutch country. Jewish-American cuisine. 90 miles from N. Y. C. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Pa. Tel: BATH 6501.

has been a good neighbor and more. He has helped with the manual chores of our household, which because of my condition I am unable to do. His religious and moral attitudes have been a source of inspiration in my troubled life. His children are well liked and well integrated into the community. We, the neighbors of Mr. Cotter, cannot believe that it is the American way of doing things to deny a man a home because of the color of his skin. Nor do we feel that we can teach true democracy to our children when the very homes we live in are segregated in this way.

LAWRENCE ALEXANDER
Levittown, Long Island

Paternal Thanks

Dear Sirs: Thank you for the space you gave Maury, Jr., in your June 20 issue [The Texas Brand in the Library, by Maury Maverick, Jr.]. It is pleasing to the Maverick family and for that matter, I believe, pleasing to the people of Texas.

MAURY MAVERICK
San Antonio, Tex.

Apology Accepted

Dear Sirs: I feel that I must apologize to *The Nation*. For several months I passed it up for no good reason. Then I picked up the June 6 issue containing the brilliant analysis of the Fifth Amendment by Redlich and Frantz and the first of the editorial series on McCarthy (The Present Danger). It was like taking a deep breath of clean mountain air. I promise you that I shall never have to apologize again.

New York THEODORE BRAMELD

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate—Limited to 90—Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
All Sports • Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE—FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • CIrcle 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Dir.

SHADOWOOD INN
THE ROSENBERGS
Lenox, Mass. Phone: 8014
• Informal • Good Food
• Sports • Tanglewood
• Jacobs Pillow • Theatre
• Berkshires • Low Rates

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A Delightful Adult Vacation Resort
• On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
• New canoes, boats, swim and fish
• Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
• Music, square dancing, camp-fires
• Deluxe cottages with private bath
• Delicious meals
• Summer Theatre: Ethan Allen Players
Write Diana & Abe Berman, Brandon, Vt.

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books records, sports, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Season and Holidays: $50.00 weekly; $7.50 daily
After Labor Day: $45.00 weekly; $7.00 daily
65 Miles from New York City
JANE C. ARENZ R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

PICTURESQUE HIDEAWAY on 200-acre estate, private lake, virgin woods, waterfalls, swimming, boating, fishing. Near golf and summer theatre. Delicious food. Informal atmosphere. Rooms with private bath. Small group.

Also 4-room apartment, charmingly furnished, facing waterfalls and 1-room cabin with fireplace and screened porch on an island in our lake. Complete housekeeping facilities.

LAKE LOUANNE, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

Jack Gilford, Avon Long, Norman Atkins, Hillel & Aviva, John Garth, Kay Medford, Pete Seeger, Paul Bain Trio, Elton Warren, Orson Bean and Jerry Jarrett are among our famous Guest Stars.

ALL-SUMMER TENNIS JAMBOREE
With The Nicest People Ever... On Our Fast Clay And All-Weather Courts
FREE Week-End Winner WEEKLY
ASK ABOUT OUR FULL PROGRAM
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS FOR ADULTS
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
New York Office: Phone MUrray Hill 3-2979

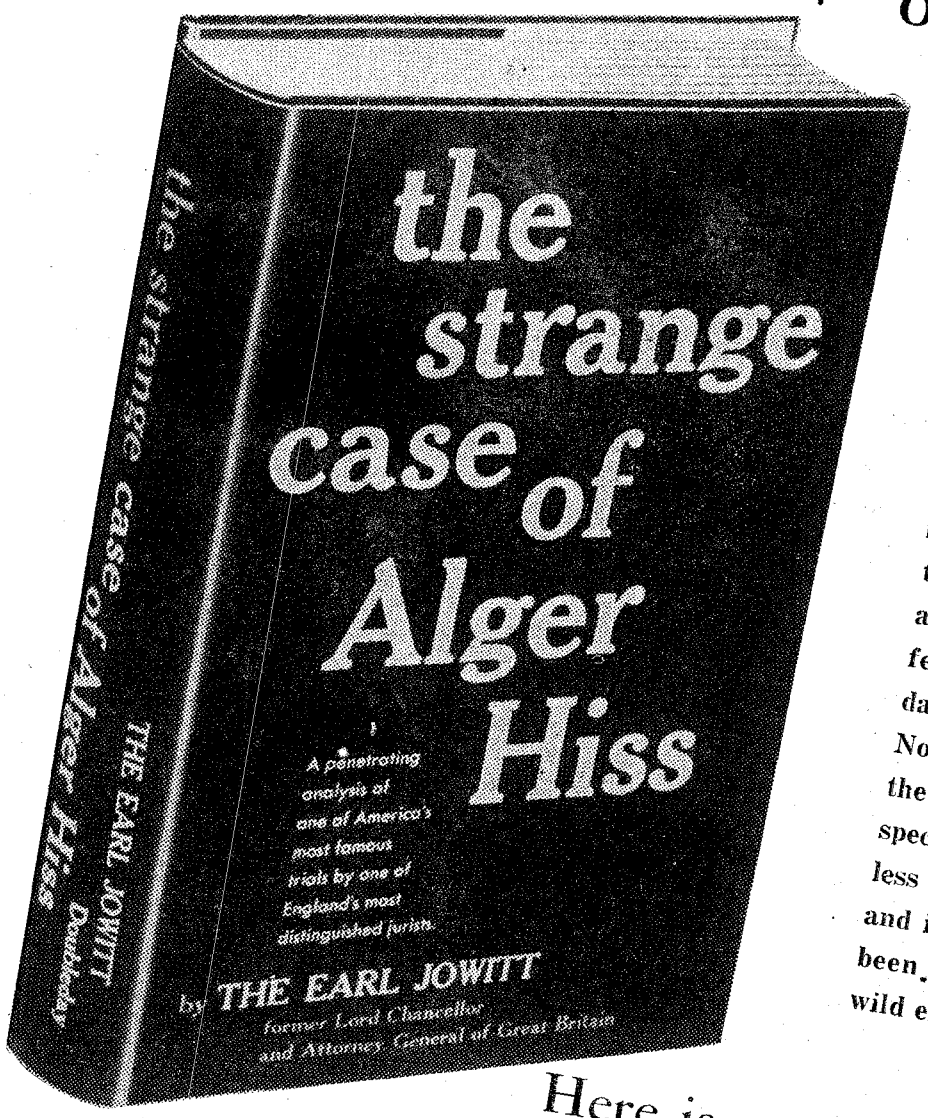
ALL SPORTS
LAKE & POOL
ENTERTAINMENT
Instruction in
SQUARE, FOLK AND SOCIAL DANCING
CRAFTS, CERAMICS
PAINTING & SCULPTURE
Plus
FINE FOOD
COCKTAIL BAR
NEW STUDIO HOUSE
GOLF PUTTING & DRIVING RANGE

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATION READERS!

Order your copies NOW of the year's most controversial book—


the strange case of Alger Hiss
A penetrating analysis of one of America's most famous trials by one of England's most distinguished jurists.
by THE EARL JOWITT
former Lord Chancellor and Attorney General of Great Britain
the strange case of Alger Hiss
THE EARL JOWITT

NOW PUBLISHED

▸ Hiss vs. Chambers... the most famous and fateful trial of our time. For all the controversy aroused by this *cause celebre*, few are completely certain today that the facts are all in. Now a famous British jurist fits the familiar evidence into perspective. With a lawyer's merciless clarity, he spotlights facts and issues which have hitherto been thoroughly muddied by wild emotion.

$3.95

Here is a penetrating analysis of one of America's most famous trials by one of England's most distinguished jurists.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL JOWITT
former Lord Chancellor and
Attorney General of Great Britain

THE NATION, Book Department
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

I want to order the following number of copies of THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS, at $3.95 (postpaid) each _____.

☐ Remittance enclosed.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

9/18/58

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED